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THE JEWISH PROBLEM
by LOUIS GOLDING

FRANK FOLY
L. B. F.

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THE
JEWISH
PROBLEM

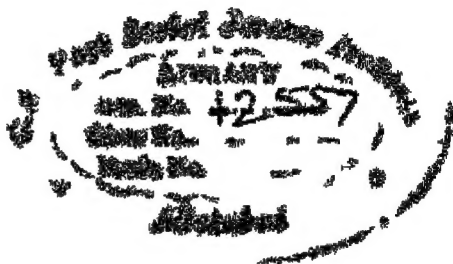
BY
LOUIS GOLDING

WITH 33 ILLUSTRATIONS



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TO
SARAH
MY FATHER'S DAUGHTER
WITH LOVE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to two eminent scholars Dr Cecil Roth and the Rev Dr James Parkes who have carefully read this book and given me many criticisms and constructive suggestions I am grateful also to Mr Paul H Emden for reading the proofs.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE GENTILE PROBLEM

I

In entitling the first chapter of this book "The Gentile Problem," let me state at once that in my view this would have been a more accurate title for the whole book than the one it bears. The Jewish Problem is in essence a Gentile Problem. I mean this not merely in the limited and it is hoped temporary matter of the Jewish refugees from Gentile persecution whose sorely pressed kinsmen in happier countries have it in their power to touch only the fringe of it.

I mean that the Jewish Problem has been a Gentile Problem from the first decades in which it raised its baneful head, and will remain so till the Gentiles themselves have solved it. There is no contribution the Jews themselves can make towards a solution which is not sooner or later pronounced an aggravation. There is, in fact, no action at all the Jews as Jews can take, for their own characters, interests, origins, prospects, differ so infinitely among themselves. There is only one thing they can do. A Nazi official outlined it when a Jew who had been ordered to leave Austria reported that the consuls of no country would grant him a visa. Not for him a home by Seine or Thames, by Plate or Hudson River. "The way to the Danube is open," said the Nazi official. That thing the Jews will not do. Not because as a people in such an epoch as this they are so constituted as to have little thought of themselves.

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not take the way to the Danube because they cannot, any more than the wind can bid itself cease blowing or the rain cease falling

I beg leave to give a very homely instance of the sense in which I consider the Jewish Problem in essence a Gentile Problem. A close acquaintance of mine is a certain Irishman of mixed pedigree the dog Paddy who is to my friend John Smith as the apple of both his eyes. Paddy dislikes Scotch terriers it is enough for one to pass within twenty yards for Paddy to deafen the neighbourhood with challenges and insults. It is a practice which John Smith deprecates which, therefore he does his best to check—all the more as the objects of Paddy's detestation are often inoffensive creatures who seldom speak first. Despite all his affection for Paddy, he considers, as I do that Paddy's unmannerly behaviour is due to some measure of original sin in Paddy. It has not yet been suggested to us that what is here involved is a Scotch Terrier Problem and that when Paddy attacks a neighbour who is peacefully engaged in inspecting the evening smells it is the neighbour who should be arraigned for inciting to attack by the fact of his existence.

It is not my intention to suggest that all Scotch Terriers and all Jews are alike innocuous. On the contrary I am well aware that there are some Scotch Terriers as well as some Jews who are criminal as there are some Alsatians too both canine and human, who are criminal. There are moreover, certain Jews, in no sense criminal, whom I, a Jew, find as noxious as any two Spaniards can find each other. So does my friend John Smith. John Smith has, however, a more singular peculiarity. He finds it impossible to be in the same room as an albino. Yet he does not for that reason propose to exclude albinos from the study of zoology or the history of the clothing of

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Jews or even because all Jews, were dislikeable. Its original grounds were religious—not personal not social not economic not political. It was postulated that the people who denied Christ must not be admitted to the free life of their neighbours. From time to time bloody attempts were made to avenge the Passion on helpless groups whose ancestors in a remote age and land were said to have been responsible for it. At present, that line of attack has been completely abandoned—officially at least and so little is the Jewish Problem conceived on a religious basis that now in Germany even persons whose parents or grandparents or great-grandparents were converted to Christianity, and who are themselves devoted sons of the Church are submitted to a persecution as ferocious as that directed against their remote kinsmen who profess Judaism.

But throughout the history of anti-Semitism the line of attack has changed perpetually. When religion came to count for less in the life of the Western world, it was brought up against the Jews that they confined themselves to trade and commerce and shewed no aptitude for the professions (from which they had been rigorously excluded for centuries. That is a matter to which we will have to revert later). This was one of the principal criticisms brought forward rather more than a century ago when it was first proposed to confer the rights of citizens upon Jews. A deliberate, and successful, attempt was made by leaders of the Jewish communities to divert their young people from commerce to the professions, with a result which is well known. It later became one of the main charges against the Jews in certain countries that they occupied a place in the professions utterly disproportionate to their numbers.

One asks oneself on what basis is an ethnically just proportion to be worked out. Can it be maintained that there

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Yet anti did not come into being because

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One asks oneself on what basis is an ethically just proportion to be worked out. Can it be maintained that there are, for instance, too many Scotsmen who are school-

masters or Welshmen who are minors in proportion to their total number? Is it not natural that Jews should manifest an almost indecent enthusiasm to enrol themselves in those callings from which they had been excluded for so many centuries? Is it not reasonable to assume that the experience in fact teaches us that such enthusiasms sober down as a community finds its own level with the lapse of two or three generations? And finally do not all these considerations overlook the fact that the most important qualifications for a surgeon about to amputate your left leg is his ability to amputate your left leg?

It would be easy to multiply instances of this anti-Semitic inconsistency the pretext for which changes not merely from time to time but from place to place. In the early years of this century when Russia was massacring the Jews in the name of Holy Church German anti Semites were virulently protesting against the position they had attained in the professions Drumont the father of French anti-Semitism, was inveighing against their importance in the world of finance and in England (where the world of finance was properly respected) certain labour leaders were accusing them of sweated labour and overcrowding in the East End.

Finally I cannot forbear from instancing the immemorial jibe that the Jews have no appetite to be land workers, hewers of wood and drawers of water. The jibe of course, ignores the fact that the Jews had been evicted from the land in Palestine, where for a thousand years they had hewn wood and drawn water where certain Jewish communities escaping the general doom have continued to hew wood and draw water during all these subsequent centuries. It is true, of course that in those lands where Jews were forbidden to own or work land under the most stringent penalties, they did not own or work land. But what happened in those countries where at last the Jews were allowed to the land? In Russia, for

where Jewish agriculturists began to flourish under the old régime the May Laws of 1882 uprooted them from their holdings. What has happened in South Germany and the Burgundia we know too well where there were a number of old established Jewish farmers indistinguishable from their neighbours except by their religion. We are witnesses today of a return to the land in Palestine unexampled in its self-sacrificing fervour. We are not less witnesses of the towering difficulties which oppose them in every quarter.

The truth of the matter is summarized by Dr Roth in his invaluable *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization*. "An urge to the soil," he writes, "has invariably manifested itself in Jewish history. Jewish agricultural settlements exist today all over the world." (Certain figures in this connexion will be given later.) "The total number of Jews throughout the world who look to agriculture is now nearly 700,000 and the number is increasing almost daily. The phenomenon is unique in the world today where the general tendency is not towards, but away from, the land."

II

I think I have said enough to demonstrate the inconsistency of anti-Jewish sentiment which veers round full circle both in space and time. It is I think succinctly illustrated in the old Talmudic story of a certain Roman Emperor who one day ordered a Jewish peasant who had *not* saluted him to be executed for disloyalty and the next day ordered another Jewish peasant who *had* saluted him to be executed for pretentiousness.

The Jew then, is reproached as being now black now white, now both simultaneously. The Jew knows more clearly than the anti-Jew that there is no logic in these mutually contradictory reproaches. They are attempted

rationalizations of historic and widespread prejudice and it should be possible to trace these prejudices to their source

In the first place the Jews constitute in every country and in almost every city a Minority. It is to say they are in one sense or another Different. Here at once is a breeding ground of prejudice. It will be remembered how unfavourably the Man Who Could See was received in Mr Wells's *Country of the Blind*. I am reminded too of a certain theological seminary in which a myopic delegation approached a new student and asked him in some what menacing terms, why he did not wear spectacles. Moreover certain zoologists maintain that among sub-human species too a penalty is often attached to the crime of being Different. There is a good deal of evidence that some birds and perhaps some mammals as well (other than bipeds) will attack injured specimens of their own species or those which have an abnormal colouring or are albino. In addition (as among ourselves) any unfamiliar bird will often be mobbed by other species. Not to be uniform, in nature as among men is always unfortunate and can be disastrous.

Not of course that among humans the Jews are alone in being a minority. There are minorities in every country in every environment, in every group both religious minorities such as (say) the Plymouth Brethren in England and ethnic minorities, such as (say) the Basques in France. But the Jews happen to be both an ethnic and a religious group. That is to say those persons who profess the religious system known as Judaism are at the same time distinguished from their fellow-citizens to some extent by reason of the fact that they are Jews by descent—that they belong to the ethnic group known as Jews. It is as though all the Plymouth Brethren in England were descended from Basque refugees and that all the descendants of Basque refugees in

professed the same

not a due regard popular faith. Their qualifications for the voluntary would in this case be doubled. But the difficulties here hesitates to use the term "race," and says that my head reverence and a non-existent scientific utility are discernible in many countries. But the Jew is distinguishable by the fact that he is so often a local arrival. Here again one must not generalize too summarily. Jews have been settled in Italy (for example) since the second century B.C. without a break and have been familiar on the Rhine-land since the fourth century A.D. at least. Even in England whence they were excluded from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth their present settlement dates back for nearly three centuries. Yet the fact remains. Since the first Dispersion anti-Semitism has been responsible for a constant stream of wanderers from countries of persecution to countries of opportunity so that most lands contain a greater or smaller proportion of foreign Jews. It is not surprising that strangers from another country are disliked when we are not at all sure about a visitor from the next parish. Look Bill! Furrier! observed a hero of one of Mr. Punch's most famous drawings. 'Eave arf a brick at im!' exclaimed his companion without looking up. What would he have said had that stranger worn a beard while he himself was clean shaven (or vice versa) and gone to a different place of worship to boot?

The Jews are in a minority in still another direction. They are marked off from their neighbours not only ethnically and religiously but also to a considerable extent vocationally. The circumstances of their history have made of them essentially town dwellers and, as town dwellers largely confined to certain callings and professions. As I have already suggested this balance is already redressing itself—apparently if anything too quickly. The anti-Semite gets it both ways, on the urban swings and the rural roundabouts.

The reason why the prejudice against the French refugees of the eighteenth century did not survive into the nineteenth is simply that the Huguenots themselves hardly did. They found themselves in a sympathetic environment they were on the whole well treated and there was no unsurmountable religious barrier between them and their new neighbours. Hence they were assimilated rapidly. They advanced in social status, they descended, intermarried with the noble families of the country, they entered into the peerage. Simultaneously their Churches were gradually abandoned. At long last there was left but a number of magnificently endowed churches (which it is said, render the fact of being a Huguenot orphan one of the most lucrative of all possible professions in this country) and a group of families who pride themselves on their romantic origin in a fashion which would have sounded ludicrous two hundred years ago.

The Jews on the other hand considered as a group have refused to surrender their identity. They believe that the religious system evolved by their fathers retains its value to the present day. They feel that the religious prescriptions and the folk-ways evolved during the long centuries of their history have an importance of their own. They have ideas of decency in personal and even national relationships which if not thundered forth at Sinai have behind them the force of three millennia of history. They cherish the ideas of universal peace first enunciated by Isaiah. They are the heirs to a noble religious tradition—old already at the time when Jesus was born and in fact basic to his own teaching. And (whatever individuals among them may do or think) the Jews, as a group consider that this priceless religious heritage is not lightly to be surrendered.

The prejudice that this attitude aroused was at least logical, in an age when men were acutely conscious of their souls and preoccupied with their salvation and

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and that all persons who did not be-
come citizens of the new States too it is understand-
able that a community whose religious beliefs and inherited
traditions are so different from the dignity of the indi-
vidual and the existence of something in the world that
makes for maintenance and is more important than State
or Race or Tradition - such a community is not well circum-
stanced in a country like Germany today. But such
a prejudice is lamentable in countries where these ideas
are part of the common intellectual currency. It might
be imagined that a body of men who have enough inde-
pendence of thought not to think precisely as their neigh-
bours do and who are prepared to make sacrifices in order
to observe and preserve some of their distinctive traditions
would be regarded as a particularly valuable element of
society. As treated properly they are

III

Incidentally (though Zionists consider this to be more
than incidental) the Jews unlike most other minorities
are nowhere a majority. They have no nucleus settled on
the soil in their own country they have no Government
which can intervene or protest on their behalf they have
not the moral satisfaction of knowing that somewhere
in the world there exists a land which is theirs and from
which no power on earth can exclude them. Even were
the Zionist experiment in Palestine to be overwhelmingly
successful it would be out of the question for the Jews
ever to constitute as the Germans do a power which from
the physical point of view at least, is great and which is
prepared to intervene vigorously to prevent discrimina-
tion real or fancied against its nationals in other lands.
For the Jews are a minority which is in so far as it is
Jewish without roots in any independent land. Despite all

their reputed influence not even a minor Power will raise up its voice in protest when they are maltreated in one country or another. They have, in fact, all the disadvantages of a national minority without any of its advantages.

Thus the Jews combine all the qualifications for misfortune. Not only are they a minority. They are simultaneously a religious minority, an ethnic minority, an economic minority. And above all they are an easily distinguishable minority. It has been said that the part played in English economic life by the Quakers is out of all proportion to their numbers: that during the past century and a half they have taken an exaggerated share in many walks of life, amassed a very high degree of wealth and exercised a disproportionate weight, not only in the progress of various movements but also in the affairs of the country. If that is so, few persons are aware of it, for the Quaker names are Barclay, Bevan, Hanbury, Gurney, Richardson. No one as he walked through Lothbury would pay much attention to such names or shudder at the idea that such a tiny handful of the population could exercise so great a weight in its financial affairs. If instead of such names he read Cohen, Levi, Rosenberg, Isaacs, his reactions I fear would be more emphatic.

A group of Wesleyans or of Baptists, too, are outwardly indistinguishable from their neighbours. But, however scientifically anthropologists and sociologists may prove that there is no such thing as a Jewish type, the Jew tends to be recognizable by his physiognomy and (in the case of persons more recently emerged from the Ghetto) sometimes even by his voice. It can be postulated that if the man in the street were aware of the importance which other minorities play in the life of one nation or another, the prejudice against them might increase and that against the Jews might correspondingly diminish. But the fact remains that he is an easily identifiable minority and for that the sins of his own internal type are visited

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on his whole corporate body. The injustice is the more flagrant because the erring individual is often enough no more Jewish than the nearest Eskimo.

If a man is jostled by a hook-nosed individual on the Underground who may in fact, be of Tartar or Roman extraction, if a firm with which he does business, with a purely Slav name goes bankrupt if he finds that a political cause which he particularly dislikes is championed by an in fact completely Aryan partner in an historic banking firm, if his slumbers in his club are disturbed by a voice which he suspects of being slightly guttural, he thinks of the offender immediately as 'a Jew' and of all Jews as being in those same ways lamentable.

Now this fact of having at his elbow this easily identifiable minority is not without its practical uses. Man always likes to look to some external cause to explain his failures. He is unfortunate in business, not because he is incompetent, but because his competitors use unfair methods; his novel is turned down by the publishers, not because it is a bad one, but because he lacks personal influence; he was blackballed at the golf club, not because he is thoroughly unpleasant, but because Mr. X has a personal grudge against him. This mentality is common to all men. Jews perhaps suffer from it in a peculiarly great measure. Their scapegoat is, however, something impersonal—'anti-Semitism'. They tend to nurse the obsession that the only reason for the slightest rebuff from which they may suffer in business, social life, or any other activity is a causeless anti-Jewish prejudice quite unjustified by anything in their personal behaviour as individuals. But whereas they ascribe responsibility in these cases to something abstract, their neighbours tend to ascribe it in so many cases to a human agency—to that of this ubiquitous easily identifiable minority against which there is a latent prejudice, so deep in its roots, so various in its flower.

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We all know of the admirable old system by which a prince of the blood royal was never punished by his tutor as his person was too sacred to be molested. Instead a Whipping boy was appointed upon whose unoffending posterior the prince suffered vicarious punishment. The function of the Jew is not unlike this. He is the Whipping boy of history.

IV

The history of the growth of anti-Semitism will be treated below. But a word must be said here regarding the history of its growth in the individual. The Jews are the only group (and the only group above all with which the ordinary person is likely to come into contact) who are singled out adversely for censure and for obloquy in the education and training of the ordinary child. Careful teachers may qualify it but all too often it is taught in school, it is repeated in conversation, it is proclaimed from the Pulpit, it is reiterated in readings from the Gospel, it is echoed in literature that Jesus Christ was killed by the Jews—that is that the Jews were responsible for the greatest of all crimes in history.

No palliation or explanation is admitted. It is not pointed out that at the time of the Passion of Jesus the Jews were under Roman rule and could not pronounce a death sentence.¹ It is not pointed out that the main incident on which this collective accusation rests—the mob surging round Pilate and crying "His blood be on us and on our children!"—is regarded as legendary by Christian

They had virtually abolished the death penalty; it seems. A rabbi of the next generation asserted that a court which pronounced a death sentence once in seventy years was a tribunal of murderers. And even when the Jews had the power of capital punishment, it could never be carried out on a Friday—the day of Jesus's death.

scholars nor that at the time of the Pass on of Jesus the Jewish party in authority was a Romanized group of aristocrats false to every Jewish tradition and playing only for their own safety. It is not pointed out that the historical gospels exclude from all participation in the arrest trial and crucifixion the religious leaders of the people the creators of modern Judaism—the Pharisees¹. It is not pointed out that, in any event only a minute portion of the Jewish people a long time ago can have been involved.

No Elementary education admits of no half colours and the child is brought up to believe that "The Jews killed our Lord". Later on he may have to read Chaucer's "Prioress's Tale" and Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice" not to mention countless incidental allusions scattered throughout English literature and rarely counteracted by any work of popular appeal which presents a more favourable picture.

Thus the child grows up with a prejudice early implanted in his mind. The Jewish schoolchildren with whom he mixes can bear witness to its strength and virulence and to the fact that the query "Who killed Christ?" is not intended academically. Later on his attitude may alter. He may no longer believe all that he was told at school. He may not even adhere to the funda-

The last mention of Pharisaic contact with Jesus in Matthew comes in Chapter xxii 41, the narrative of the plot against his life begins in Chapter xxvi 3 the last contact in Mark is in Chapter xii 13 the narrative of the plot begins in Chapter xiv 1. In Luke the last contact is in Chapter xvi 14 the narrative of the plot begins in Chapter xix. 47. To Christian readers for whom the word "Pharisees" is identical with "hypocrites" or "whited sepulchres" it might also be pointed out that the Epistles of St. Paul are saturated with Pharisaic teaching, as great Christian scholars like Travers Herford and George Foote Moore have recognized. It is the *will* of the system, not the system itself which the Gospels attack.

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mental tenets of Christianity. But the prejudice is too deeply implanted to fade away. Instead it is metamorphosed into something else. Crimes more pertinent to the contemporary scene are attributed to the Jews of the modern world, according to individual taste—that they are too nationalist or that they are international, that they are communists or that they are capitalists, that they suffer from an incurable incivism or that they are represented in excessive numbers in public life.

There, alas, the prejudice is first in the mind of the child, then in the mind of the man, sometimes a rationalized prejudice, sometimes a prejudice that repudiates all rationalization. It is with that prejudice, to the Jews themselves the greatest of their problems, that the chapters that now follow will be concerned.

HOW ANTI SEMITISM STARTED

I

THE history of the Jewish people goes back now for some 3500 years. Modern critics who question the existence of Moses and throw doubt on the Egyptian bondage knock a century or so off this immense expanse of time but even so the period cannot be reduced below some three thousand years. During the first half of this period the ancestors of the Jews of today were known as Israelites but there was no Israelitish problem. They were at that time a normally constituted people on their own soil, tilling the land pasturing their flocks engaged in a few very simple domestic industries, and retrograde rather than progressive from the economic point of view. So far was this the case that the trade of Palestine was monopolized by foreigners the Phœnicians who met with no domestic competition. Indeed, it was not until almost the end of this period—in the second century before the beginning of the Christian era—that a Jewish ruler first issued his own coinage. The Jews of Palestine were in fact, indistinguishable from any other people, except for the fact that (to the amusement of contemporaries) they insisted on worshipping an incorporeal deity and that they had somewhat finicky ideas of morality.

beginning of the Christian era—culminating but not concluding with the Roman campaign of destruction under Titus which finally ended Jewish independence—scattered these monotheistic Palestinian peasants as slaves throughout the known world. This happened at the time to scores of other lesser nationalities of the Mediterranean basin. The subsequent course of events generally followed much the same lines. Those of the slaves who survived intermarried with others of the same type, regained or did not regain their freedom, begat children and became merged in the vast heterogeneous proletariat which still forms (notwithstanding Signor Mussolini's pose as an Ancient Roman) the basis of the population of a good part of the Mediterranean world.

But what happened to the Jews was not quite true to pattern. They too died by their thousands—worked to death at building the Colosseum, decimated by malaria on the Gulf of Corinth as they laboured on the Roman precursor of the present Canal, fighting against wild beasts in the arena in every properly constituted city of the Empire. But those who survived persisted in maintaining their identity. They refused to admit that the gods in the Roman Pantheon were necessarily more powerful merely because they happened to be momentarily victorious. They forgathered wherever possible with other Jews to observe their preposterous rites based on the exhortations of teachers long since dead. They would not even admit that the overthrow of their national independence was final. In their God's good time they said His people would assuredly come back as a free nation to their own land, notwithstanding the thoroughness with which it had been parcelled out among its conquerors. They insisted in a word on that most heinous of misdeemeanours, the retaining of their individuality, not only in the first generation (as was doubtless the case with some other elements) but in the second generation, too, and in

all generations that came after

Incidentally this proud individualism this inability to admit defeat, this insistence on inconvenient religious rites, made them unsatisfactory slaves (except for the roughest manual labour for which their wiry physique was considered particularly suitable) Their masters were thus inclined to permit them to be ransomed by their fellow Jews who regarded this as one of the most pious of all good actions which man could perform Thus the backward agricultural community of Palestine was first supplemented and then replaced by an anomalous body of men of Palestinian origin scattered throughout the world but still fostering (and in turn being fostered by) their ancestors' curious religious ideas

These emigrés were not indeed popular—emigrés never are Occasionally in those centres nearest to Palestine where they were most numerous such as Antioch or Alexandria there were racial riots not very dissimilar from the racial riots which take place in our own day in the same part of the world at the slightest pretext There was nothing in common between this and European anti-Semitism as it subsequently developed In Rome itself, when the Jews first arrived, their religious beliefs were eyed askance The very least that a stranger could do it was held was to sacrifice to the gods of the country especially when they were gods of such antiquity respectability and tried success as those in the Roman Pantheon and it was considered unsocial if not treasonable of the Jews to refrain from participating in the religious rites of their neighbours Some writers gave literary expression to their feelings singling out for ridicule especially the Jews' absurd practice of wasting one-seventh of their lives by observing a weekly day of rest.

In the end however this Jewish religious eccentricity received legal recognition Other immigrants were expected to adhere to the official religion (which, after all,



ANCTIFICATION
1 The Prague
(ada 1526)

and contemporaries
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THE PASSOVER
(From *The Prague Hagada*, 1526)

Saturday the Jewish Sabbath. Any conceivable circumstances through which a Jew might exercise authority over a true believer was to be avoided. Jews and Christians must not eat together drink together or love each other. Jewish religious leaders—whose prayers were considered particularly efficacious—must not be asked to bless the fields of their Christian neighbours. No Christian might go to a Jewish physician for medical treatment, lest the infidel might acquire an improper influence over the patient's mind, and even prevent him from receiving the sacraments if his illness took a fatal turn. And, while no objection was raised at this stage to the possession of Christian slaves by a Christian master he must not sell them to a Jew for thus those who were responsible for the death of Jesus would be placed in a position of superiority over those whom that same death had redeemed.

IV

As Christianity grew more powerful, this attitude became more deeply embedded and more widely spread. In the end it became the official policy of most of Europe. It was not racial prejudice in the old sense—the dislike of the stranger which is overcome after a period of neighbourly intercourse. It was not religious zeal of the ordinary sort in which Jews (tolerant though their tradition generally is) have doubtless sinned as their neighbours have. It was a religious hatred, heightened by jealousy and justified by the reiterated allegation that "the Jews" killed Jesus Christ. It was a basis of Christian teaching. It was read into the Gospels. It was reaffirmed in the Pulpit. It formed the subject of primitive dramatic representations. It roused the population to a pitch of fanaticism each Easter tide, on the anniversary of the Great Crime. And whenever familiarity had bred

whenever secular rulers found useful administrators among their Jewish subjects whenever some enthusiast expressed the view that Judaism was superior to the faith in which he had been born, or the common folk displayed too great familiarity with Jews—on all such occasions every pulpit resounded once again, more vehemently than ever to the old fulminations and every hearer was stirred to such a pitch of excitement that he too longed to avenge the Crucifixion

For fifteen centuries this propaganda went on at full force without a break With the growth of liberal ideas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was some intermission Nevertheless its basis was unaffected Every child almost as soon as he could lisp was taught that Jesus Christ, his Saviour was killed by the Jews." Men who had never seen a Jew were filled from babyhood with resentment which only sought the opportunity for expression The Jewish Problem existed for them before they rightly knew what a Jew was Here, in the nursery was the nursery of anti-Semitism

CHRISTIANITY TRIUMPHANT

I

CHRISTIANITY hence called into existence against Judaism a bitterness of feeling hitherto unparalleled in which a policy of demarcation on the one hand and an illogically developed horror at a great crime on the other were added to the normal (and without doubt, bilateral) religious fanaticism. But until the fourth century Christianity itself was fighting for existence. At last, by the Edict of Milan in 313 A.D. Constantine the Great without troubling to adopt Christianity himself gave it nominal tolerance and actual supremacy in the Roman Empire.

On the position of Judaism the results of this change were instantaneous. Hitherto the bitteresses between Judaism and Christianity had been those of rival sects. But now the Christian policy and the Christian point of view were taken over bodily by the State. Henceforth the religious teaching that the Jew was to be segregated and degraded in retaliation for his share in the greatest crime of history became part of civil doctrine. In earlier Roman law, Judaism had been characterized as a most illustrious faith certainly legitimate. The early Christian emperors adopted the clerical vocabulary and called it instead, a 'sacrilegious gathering' or 'nefarious sect'. And their legislation reflected the change in attitude. The citizenship which the Jews had been granted together with other inhabitants of the Empire by the Edict of Caracalla, began to be modified but whereas they had shared the privileges with others they stood virtually alone when it came to

op. For the first time in history the

full enjoyment of citizens rights became dependent on adherence to a certain religious system. The ecclesiastical code which had been unimportant while it was ecclesiastical only came to be embodied in the code of the State which joined the Church in degrading and segregating this nonconformist element.

It was not merely a question of a change of vocabulary. At every turn the Jew found his position affected. From the beginning the Church had naturally encouraged conversions which the Jews had equally naturally opposed. Now only six years after the Edict of Milan by a law of Constantine (himself not yet baptized!) the latter were threatened with burning if they dared to molest (i.e. dissuade) converts to the faith of the true God. Conversely the daughter faith disapproved of its followers going over to Judaism; this now became a civil crime, punishable by death as also was intermarriage between Jews and Christians. (Small wonder that the Jews making a virtue of necessity now stopped considering theirs a missionary religion. Thus however they opened a way to yet another reproach that they were intolerably exclusive—one of the last offences of which the ancient world could have accused them.)

The Church loudly objected to the presence of Jews in positions of trust which might give them authority over true believers. This too now became part of civil law. The Church had always frowned on the possession of Christian slaves by Jews; now it was forbidden by the State, this being the prelude to a wider prohibition. New synagogues might no longer be built or old ones embellished. One Christian emperor vied with the other in demonstrating his religious loyalty by an additional kick delivered on the nearest inoffensive body—a commonplace of religious experience at all times and in all places. For example Constantine's son, Constantius went so far as to prohibit the Jews from owning not only but

even pagan slaves. There was no question of humanitarianism in this—slave owning was regarded as a normal and proper state of affairs. But as most agricultural and manual labour was performed by slaves this was tantamount to a prohibition to Jews to employ labour in any shape or form and was a powerful impulse towards their exclusion from normal economic life.

The reaction reached its climax under the Emperor Theodosius II (408–450) author of that famous code of law which formed the basis of later European jurisprudence. This embodied all the prevailing anti Jewish conceptions and regulations which thus became as it were implicit in the legal background of the mediæval world. The point illustrates the bad luck which has dogged the footsteps of the Jews. The Roman legal system is the only part of Roman civilization which postdates (and reflects) the triumph of Christianity. Had Theodosius lived two hundred years before and been a tolerant pagan how much more bearable Jewish life in mediæval Europe might have been!

Hence, with the progress of time there was no relaxation in the official anti Jewish policy. The reverse, indeed. The struggle against Paganism was over in Europe until the twentieth century. Greek hedonists, Teutonic barbarians and Slav idol worshippers had alike been converted nominally to Christianity. There remained only as the personification of misbelief and as the whet stone whereby the zeal of simple Christians might be kept keen the Moslems and the Jews. But (except as regards certain areas of the south of Europe—where, incidentally as a natural consequence religious prejudice was not quite so strong) the Moslems were a remote contingency living in distant lands on the misty border of Christendom. The Jews unfortunately for themselves were to be found everywhere. They formed accordingly the object of a campaign. Kindly pious

votaries of the religion of love found in fact in the hatred of the Jew and at times in the massacre of Jews, the psychological outlet for sentiments which in themselves may perhaps have been pure and high minded

II

This legislation proved in the course of the Middle Ages a double edged weapon. For when the Arabs made their triumphant incursion against what had once been the Roman Empire they found this system for the regulation of relations with non believers in force, and adopted it themselves without any very great modifications. To the shocked dismay of Christendom, however the non believers in question were now not the Jews alone but the Christians, too. Thus the laws of Constantine and the Codex Theodosianus which had embodied the current anti Jewish prejudices of the Church became the basis of a code under which the Church too groaned. In edict after edict, in which the proper treatment of Christian subjects by Moslem rulers is enunciated one hears the echo and seems almost to hear the very voice of a mediæval Christian inquisitor. There was the difference however that among the Moslems theory tended to outstrip practice and that over long periods their infidel subjects enjoyed an almost unbounded tolerance. On the other hand there were periods of greater fanaticism when Moslem ingenuity discovered fresh elaborations and embellishments of the persecutory code which they had learned from their European masters. Partly out of a spirit of imitation partly for revenge these innovations would be adopted subsequently by the Christian world where, Moslems being generally absent the burden had to be shouldered by the unfortunate Jew.

A comparison with conditions in the Moslem world
 emp nev the tially Occidental, Euro-

pean, or "Christian" quality of anti-Semitism in its modern sense. It is not suggested that the Jew is beloved by the Mohammedan. Nor (as has been indicated) is the Christian, and if there is anything to choose in the historic record of Islam between the treatment of the one minority and of the other, the balance is probably in favour of the Jew. (I am of course speaking of the early period, when both minorities were equally defenceless, not of the more recent age of European tourists, merchants and protected subjects.) The Mohammedan was of course subject to waves of xenophobia and religious fanaticism in which the Jew suffered but no more than his Christian neighbour. (The experience of recent years when in Palestine and elsewhere the Arab has vented mainly on the Jew the resentment which he feared to express against the European generally is a completely fresh phase, easily explained.)

On the other hand there were interludes—the most famous was in Moorish Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries or Turkey in the sixteenth—when Islam provided mediæval Jewry with its nearest approach to an earthly paradise: this side of Palestine with Jewish freedom, Jewish statesmen and Jewish achievement. And if there was anti-Jewish prejudice there was none of its rationalization by accusations of ritual murder, of commercial exploitation, or what not, and there was no enforced economic segregation so marked as to create a Jewish problem. Indeed the feelings which made for anti-Semitism in Europe became canalized (in Turkey for example) in another direction. It takes ten Jews to make a Greek and ten Greeks to make an Armenian," ran the Turkish proverb, and it was against the unhappy Armenians (whom Zangwill considered to have an even greater title to the crown of the martyr people than the Jews) that the pogrom spirit of the Turk vented itself. Anti-Jewishness therefor is not a new thing, but a cism and stranger hatred.

plus a little something that the others haven't got is essentially European. Farther East moreover beyond the sphere of the Mediterranean religions and the Mediterranean spirit resentment against the Jewish religious and ethnic difference was so slight as to be unnoticeable and the very ancient Jewish communities of China and India—yellow and black respectively (so much for the Jewish race!)—wilted away as a result of the sheer placidity of their existence.

III

At the period of the growth of Islam and of the consolidation of Christianity a great change came about in the Jewish people—a change which was to be of vital importance in the history both of the Jews and of the world. It may be summed up in five words: *The Jew became a European.*

In a sense he had always been. For the demarcation between Europe and Asia is largely an artificial one and what we term "European civilization" is in fact that civilization that had its cradle in the eastern Mediterranean as a whole (not necessarily on the European littoral).¹ But it is one of the remarkable facts in history that the Jews alone of all peoples have had the faculty of following the tide of culture—not once nor twice but time after time. As its centre moved westward, so the Jews moved with it—first from the eastern to the central Mediterranean then to western and finally to northern Europe and the Atlantic seaboard. Thus they were influenced by European civilization, and in turn were able to influence it (a

unique phenomenon) at every stage in its development.

Already in the second century B.C. it is on record that Jews were settled in Rome. From that date on the settlement grew—not in Italy alone but in every part of the Latin world. Before Alaric sacked the Eternal City they were to be found in some numbers in Spain, in France perhaps in England. They were certainly present in the Rhineland. An edict of the Emperor Constantine of December 11th 321 A.D. refers to the existence in Cologne of a settled Jewish community. Indeed of all the peoples of Europe today the Jews have by a long way the longest and most continuous settlement. Centuries before the ancestors of many of the present nationalities of the Western world had emerged from the steppes of central Asia Jews were living in Europe and playing a part in European cultural life. To think of them as strangers and aliens is to contradict history itself.

Precisely when the change which brought the Jews from Asia into Europe reached its culminating point is not very easy to say. But, from the year 1000 A.D. onwards the greater and more vital part of Jewry was definitely settled in Europe and henceforth associated preponderantly with European life, European ideas and European intolerance.

IV

It has been observed often but is no less true for that that mediæval legislation expressed an ideal rather than laid down a positive rule of action. It is not therefore to be imagined that the adoption of Christianity by the Roman Empire and the embodiment of various persecutory injunctions in the Roman code immediately initiated for the Jews an unrelieved era of martyrdom. This was far from being the case. The Catholic tradition was not as yet securely established. The Roman ideal of tolerance ed strong in many circles and in many places

Good were now aware what their attitude to wards Jews should be but it did not necessarily follow that they acted accordingly Where the Arian form of Christianity momentarily triumphed with its anti Trinitarian doctrine (as in sixth century Spain) the strict monotheism of the Jews was found so sympathetic that they enjoyed for a brief space a minor Golden Age

Strong and humanistic rulers above all—such as the Carolingians in France and part of Germany—laughed at ecclesiastical fanaticism encouraged Jewish traders and intellectual intermediaries and treated their Jews with unmitigated benevolence And the common people too perhaps insecure as yet in their Christianity insisted on treating the Jews as neighbours and friends—feasting with them intermarrying with them sometimes even attending the sermons in the synagogue and comparing them favourably with those which they heard in church Scandalized ecclesiastics like Agobard of Lyons threw themselves into the breach and inveighed against this cordiality but, though they might earn thereby posthumous beatification they often had little terrestrial satisfaction

Furthermore, whatever individuals might think during tolerant interludes the unfortunate fact was unaltered, that the basis of the prejudice remained in Christian literature and its legislative expression in the Christian codes At moments of religious strain or religious revival when men turned to the old records and tried to live up to them, they found there not only the injunction to treat the Jews as a race apart but also precise directions as to how this should be carried into effect.

As the Middle Ages advanced the efficiency of the Church increased, and with it the efficiency with which its anti Jewish legislation was enforced From time to time the archives were examined, their contents dusted perused, and recopied and for the first time taken really seriously The Third Lateran Council of 1179 and the Fourth of

1215 solemnly re-enacted all the previous measures. They absolutely forbade Jews to have Christians in their service, in any capacity. They forbade true believers to lodge in the immediate proximity of the infidel, or the infidel to lodge among true believers. It is true that nominally Moslems and other non Christians were included in the scope of this legislation. But in practice the Jews were in a greater part of Europe the only sufferers while in Spain for example where Moslems also were to be found the fact that contiguous Moorish rulers might retaliate imposed a cautious restraint upon Christian zeal.

V

It is a typical conception of nineteenth-century liberalism that religion is a private affair. In the Middle Ages the case was different. Religion was a public affair. It was everybody's business and it affected every activity. In consequence the hatred of nonconformity did far more than to exasperate religious prejudice. It invaded and it infected every branch of life. Let us see how this affected the case we are examining.

It has been pointed out above that the fundamental principle of the ecclesiastical anti Jewish legislation rested on two points. First, it was considered indecent for those who had been responsible for the death of Christ to be in a position of superiority over those redeemed by his death. Second, there must be a clear line of demarcation between Jew and Christian lest the latter should be seduced to the faith of the former. There is nothing very startling or deadly in these as principles. However when they began to be translated into fact and when they began to be enforced by all the might of the civil power the consequences were devastating.

The Jew must not be in a position of superiority over any. It followed that he must not be

to a share in the Government. There was no particular hardship in this (In our own age a great many intelligent people prefer not to have a share in the Government—and so much the worse for the Government) But in the age we are discussing the extensions of this disability were enormous. The Jew must not occupy any administrative post however lowly he must not be a customs collector or an administrator for in either of those positions he may issue orders to non Jews. Finally he may not even be an employer of labour. If therefore he were a master craftsman he could not employ Christian assistants. He could not even have a Christian lad apprenticed to him to learn the trade. He must work by himself or at the most employ fellow Jews as artisans. And what would be the feeling of his Gentile neighbours when they witnessed the progress of this Semitic "cell" in their midst, when they found the unbeliever perfecting trade processes which he could not communicate to others through the normal channels? The segregation was an invitation to the eviction which ultimately followed when this particular problem was solved by the disappearance of the Jewish craftsman.

At home too the Jew was not allowed to have a non Jew in his employment. He could not even have a Christian housemaid. More than that. No Christian might even be permitted to enter the house to perform occasional duties such as kindling the stove on the Sabbath when the observant Jew would rather sit in the cold than touch the fire himself. Serve him right said the kindly observer he should not observe these superstitious practices. But Jews could not be blamed (except on the score of improvidence) for having children and, when his wife was in travail no Christian midwife was allowed to attend on her. Nay if she died in childbed, no Christian mother was permitted to serve as wet nurse for the child. On the other hand, it was considered grossly improper for the

Jew to act as physician as then he might acquire influence over his patient's soul as well as his body

Your Jew and Christian must be kept apart for fear of improper influence. Then they must not live together in the same house—or even in the same street. No non-Jew may live among Jews and no Jew among non-Jews. There must be in each town a special quarter or street or courtyard set aside for the habitation of the Jews (and incidentally convenient for attack when the occasion arose). But that clearly is not enough. Persons in contiguous streets can have relations which are friendly enough and in the case of the Jews this is unthinkable. Very well. Put gates up at the entrance to the Jewish street (not more than two one at either end) appoint Christian warders and have the gates closed strictly every evening when Satan finds mischief for idle hands to do—say from the ringing of the Angelus to sunrise. Incidentally the gates can be kept closed at the more solemn seasons of the Christian year lest the Jew should offend Christian eyes by appearing abroad. (Later these Jewish quarters will be termed *Ghetto* after the one-time foundry (*getto*) at Venice in which the local Jewish community was segregated in 1516)

It goes without saying that the Jewish quarter would not necessarily be situated in the most salubrious quarter of the town. At Rome for example, it was in the low lying area near the river which was inundated almost yearly by the winter floods. And, once instituted, it was difficult to extend it. What happened, then when by the inevitable process of nature five hundred persons had to inhabit an area originally intended for two hundred? It was simple. They could huddle together more closely one room serving for a family which had previously had two or three or else, when further overcrowding became impossible they could expand their accommodation vertically by con- further stories on top of the houses which

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

distance looked like primitive skyscrapers were insanitary to a degree. When together like animals, they bred like animals and it was only by reading of the Jewish child realizing that such a thing side really existed.



GHETTO REVELS

(From a Yiddish chap-book)

it was in central Europe particularly in the Ghetto system was developed, with a lot to its extreme. A few Jews might be for petty State. Hence only so many until the quota was full. But what which might raise the total above the

number? Births of course could not very well be restricted in those times. But marriages could. Hence only the oldest son in any family was permitted to take himself a bride and to set up his home. The rest had to suppress their natural instincts and their natural affections and remain celibate. If on the other hand their human passions became too strong for them and they sought the company of the women of the town, they did so at their peril for sexual intercourse with a non Jew was a criminal offence nominally (and sometimes actually) punishable by the death penalty. In certain parts of central Europe this infernal system continued to apply until the middle of the Victorian era.

Even more far reaching in its results than the ecclesiastical objection to seeing Jews in positions of superiority was the objection to friendly association with them on terms of equality. In the first place, in order to avoid such intercourse how were you to know your Jew? It was Pope Innocent III inspired by a Muslim innovation from which Christians too had suffered who thought of the solution. At the Fourth Lateran Council it was solemnly ordered that the unbelievers should wear a distinctive badge. The form and colour of this differed. In mediæval England it was a piece of saffron cloth in the legendary shape of the Ten Commandments. In France and Germany (in the latter case down to the close of the eighteenth century) it was in the form of a yellow circle, worn on the outer garment over the heart. In Italy the wearing of a hat of distinctive colour became the rule. (John Evelyn tells us that the prevailing hue was red until once a short sighted cardinal mistook an approaching Jew for a fellow prince of the Church and saluted him as such. Hence forth the statutory shade was changed to yellow.)

Let us admit that this provision was not, perhaps vicious in intention. It was prompted by a sincere (if mistaken) desire to mark out the two of the population from

one another to prevent any unwitting confusion in their daily intercourse and above all, in their amorous activities. But whatever the intention the badge came to be in effect a badge of shame. It marked off the Jew for contumely from other men. From a long distance off he could be recognized. He became the butt for jeers, for practical joking for assault. Marked off as another being he became considered (as was inevitable) an inferior being.

For a Jew to be seen abroad on Good Friday was to court death for all the rabble of the town would attempt to avenge on him by pelting him through the streets the Crime allegedly perpetrated by his hypothetical ancestors so many generations before. Even if he cowered at home comforting himself with his age-old prayers and age-old studies security was still lacking for there was a prescriptive right, amply utilized for the houses of the Jews to be stoned (and not with insignificant pebbles) at Easter tide. Elsewhere as at Toulouse for example the outrage was greater because more formal. When the Count left the cathedral after the Good Friday service the oldest or most respected member of the Jewish community had to present himself and submit to a violent box on the ear in the presence of the entire rabble in punishment for the Sin said to have been committed by his fathers. It may be imagined what this meant when a bull-necked mediæval warrior was responsible for the execution of the task even more when the privilege was consigned to a zealot whose muscular force was reinforced by especial religious zeal. Thus happened, for example in 1018 when the Count's chaplain was permitted to carry out the traditional ceremony in his master's place. He administered the blow with such ferocity that the venerable Rabbi fell dead to the ground. (It need not be said that this misadventure was not considered an adequate local expiation of the original Crime. The

continued for many years, till at last it was

commuted by a heavy fine. Incidentally the position of the Jews in Toulouse was considered particularly favourable.)

Ultimately the Jews were protected from some of these barbarities by the enforcement of an old Church regulation which forbade them to shew their faces outside their own quarter from Holy Thursday to Holy Saturday throughout the season of the Passion. Somewhat adroitly they turned the tables—though psychologically only. They professed to consider this segregation a sign of distinction not of disgrace. They called it the Day of Shutting In” and inserted in their Synagogal liturgy special hymns to celebrate the occasion.

*Like a princess set away
In her palace on this day
Hidden like a lovely maid
Thus her prayer fore God she laid
(Him whose spirit wondrous wise
Every being vivifies)
Rouse Thee at this spring tide feast
Till our servitude hath ceased*¹

The translation is by Roth.

THE MONEY LENDER

I

PARALLEL with the social degradation of the Jew had proceeded an economic degradation. In antiquity as stated earlier the Jews had been a normally constituted people, economically retrograde rather than otherwise. Until the beginning of the Christian era the vast majority of the Jewish people were agricultural laboriously tilling the soil and living by the sweat of their brow.

This economic destitution was modified (though only to a minor degree) owing to the circumstances of the conquest of Judæa by the Romans. Jewish estates were confiscated wholesale as a punishment to those who had taken part in the revolts and the previous cultivators were turned adrift. After each of a succession of revolts tens of thousands of peasants were uprooted from the soil and carried off as slaves into far distant lands where a large proportion of them drifted in the end into the slums of the great cities.

Hence the communities which sprang up in the new lands of settlement in Europe tended to be not rural and agricultural, but urban and industrial. Nevertheless in Spain and Germany and France in the early centuries of the Christian era, there was—notwithstanding the notorious difficulty that the immigrant into an inhabited country has in establishing himself on the soil—a considerable nucleus of Jewish peasants. But circumstances gradually uprooted them. Early Church councils forbade them to do work in the fields on Sundays, thus making them lose an a day in every seven and rendering it particularly

difficult for them to earn a living. Later the Church insisted on the payment of tithes whatever the religious profession of the cultivator with the consequence that a Jew could till the soil only on condition that he subsidized what he considered idolatrous worship. In the Barbarian invasions all rural dwellers suffered—it was only in the towns that the Roman tradition survived with any vigour and isolated Jews were certainly no more secure than isolated Romans. Then with the growth of religious prejudice, it became uncomfortable and in the end unsafe for the surviving Jewish farmers to live in rural solitude.

The development of the feudal system crystallized this state of affairs. It was implicit in the ecclesiastical conception that the Jew was the enemy of Christ, and hence of Christendom. Clearly in the circumstances he could not be suffered to accompany Christians to battle (though when the occasion demanded he did good work in defending towns from the invader). He could not even be allowed to possess weapons—the Assize of Arms formally forbade this in England in 1187. But military service was in the feudal system an integral feature of all land tenure: a man held land on condition that he paid a certain rental (generally in kind) and that he performed certain services of which the most important was to follow his lord to battle when called upon. If any category of men could not follow their lord to battle it resulted that they could not hold land. Moreover the normal feudal oath was a religious one by the Holy Trinity which no Jew could take. Hence it followed that a Jew could not normally take his place under the feudal system *ergo* that he could not hold land or be a farmer.

There were exceptions of course. Here and there, notwithstanding all the difficulties put in their way the Jewish farmers lingered on. But, by and large under the feudal system the Jew was excluded from the soil. Ultimately

legislation was passed which forbade him in any circumstances whatsoever from holding freehold property even in the towns and all the more in the country and the divorce between the Jew and agriculture became complete

II

Driven from the land the Jewish farmers fongathered with their coreligionists in the towns. For a long time they were famous in the handicrafts—in weaving dyeing, glass making and so on. But as the Middle Ages advanced, all craftsmen became organized in guilds which had the monopoly of every branch of manufacture and these guilds with their social and religious as well as economic activities would not admit Jews. They took vigorous steps however to ensure that Jews were not allowed to practise any branch of industry independently. It was only at one or two favoured spots in southern and eastern Europe that Jewish craft guilds were allowed to come into existence and that was mainly in branches of manufacture in which there was no Gentile competition. It is pathetic to read how in place after place the Jews were excluded by trade jealousy and legislative enactment from gem polishing and wood turning and carpentry and tailoring and dyeing and weaving and silk manufacture pathetic too to read of the spider like persistence with which time after time they endeavoured to make their way in these forbidden fields again.

But, in the long run the repression was successful except for a few callings such as tailoring and in a few places (Poland, for example) every branch of handicraft was closed to persons professing the Jewish faith. Nothing was left but the very lowliest manual labours (such as acting as porters and stevedores callings which were once monopolized by the Jews in Sicily and in our own day in Sal) and, at the other end of the scale



JEWS STUDYING IN A SYNAGOGUE
(From *Seelenwurzgarten* Ulm, 1483)

In commerce therefore at certain stages of history Jewish participation was very marked and the bias became all the greater since the Jew's international relations and linguistic knowledge sometimes rendered him the ideal intermediary for interchanging both commodities and ideas. Yet in this too much the same process ensued as the Middle Ages progressed. For a man marked out for attack by his Badge of Shame the dangers of the road were particularly great. In an attack on the Jewish quarter bulky merchandise might be plundered and burned. At intervals Christians were exhorted from the Pulpit not to have dealings with Jews. Ultimately trade became concentrated in the hands of the merchant guild to which normally Jews were not admitted. (Indeed in England there is on record before 1290 only one instance of a Jew having been so admitted, and it is believed that he first submitted to baptism.) Thus not only was it difficult and dangerous for the Jew to engage in trade but in the end it became over a large part of Europe illegal for him to do so.

III

Excluded from the soil, from handicraft and from trade how was the unhappy Jew to live? It was fortunate for him that, just at the time when this exclusion became effective in northern Europe (in southern countries it was not quite so comprehensive) circumstances happened to make another opening available to him. It was not though a popular or a particularly pleasant one. There is in all ages a traditional antipathy against the money lender and in the twelfth century it reached its height. Christian burial was refused to all "usurers"—all that is who lent money at interest, however low or high the rate might be—and the power of the State was summoned to assist the Church in suppressing the practice. What, then, was the unfortunate farmer to do when he needed ready

cash to tide him over between seed time and harvest, or the artisan when sickness made it impossible for him to earn his usual wages or the merchant when he had some important transaction on foot but lacked the capital? The prohibition of money lending at interest was absurd and impracticable unless something was done to provide the poor at least with advances free of charge at their hour of need. But no general provision was made for this.

Judaism is the oldest social system in which the evil of usury in an agricultural community is recognized. But the rapidly evolving society of the early Middle Ages contained not only peasants but lords and merchants to whom it was a great convenience that money should be lent on terms. It was the times not the Jews who made the system indispensable. Now while the Church not recognizing this distinction, forbade all usury the Crown interested both in national prosperity and its own revenues encouraged it. From the point of view of national prosperity it did not matter where the money came from. From the point of view of the King's private pocket, it mattered a good deal that the money lender should be wherever possible a Jew and for this reason the Jews were his private property and so were all the profits they made in the one industry he not merely allowed them but virtually compelled them to practise, i.e. usury. As the silkworm is sequestered to produce silk so it was the almost animal function of the Jew in his enforced segregation, to produce money.

It was not only the king however who wanted money from the Jews. When the blight fell on William's barley or Gilbert broke his leg, or John Mercer wanted to buy a consignment of silks at bargain price from Milan it was to his Jewish neighbour that he had recourse for a loan and his Jewish neighbour excluded from any other method of employing what capital the king had spared him could neither afford nor dare to refuse.

Thus in spite of their own bitter opposition the Jews were driven into the calling of money lending, which in northern Europe at least became their characteristic (if not their only) occupation. Not that they were in fact, alone. On the whole it was only the petty transactions that were left to them. Major operations in which really vast profits were involved, were retained in Gentile hands—mainly in those of the Italian merchants including not a few papal agents—whose name is to this day recalled in the name of Lombard Street. On the other hand Jews themselves often had recourse for loans to Christians—even to Christian religious houses—at absurdly high rates of interest. Never indeed did the rate of interest which they charged even approach the 266 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent exacted by (for example) the Gianfigliuzzi family of Florence and when the Jews were expelled from France the common people regretted it as they were thereby left unprotected in the hands of the Christian usurers who could henceforth fleece them at will.

All this however did not affect the main issue. In spite of themselves in the later Middle Ages the Jews of Europe (of northern Europe above all) were driven into the profession of money lending so that the terms Jew and money lender became synonymous.

Unfortunately money lending was a profitable business. Or rather it seemed to be though in fact it was not. Security was so poor and the chances of total loss so great that it was necessary for the rate of interest (whoever charged it) to be what we would today consider fantastically high. It very frequently happened that the lender lost all—that is he did not get his interest and lost his capital to boot. But, if he did not, his profits were likely to be so great that every feeling of jealousy was aroused among the general population. The kings used the Jew to suck up the floating capital of the country and fleeced him for the benefit of the at bly frequent intervals. In

THE MONEY LENDER

poverished creditors sometimes instigated fatal riots. The loans would frequently be cancelled by royal edict in return for some trivial immediate profit. And each time automatically as an inevitable consequence of the loss the rate of interest rose resentment grew and there was another pretext for assault massacre and fresh restrictions. It was a vicious circle. The responsibility lay with neither side but with the system. Jew hatred which excluded the Jew from other callings drove him into the practice of usury and by reason of this same fact Jew hatred was increased.

Later on two other characteristic Jewish occupations emerged. Though the merchant guild could prevent the Jew from trading in shop and market place, it could hardly regulate trade so closely as to prevent him from peddling in the street or about the countryside. And though the craft guild could exclude the Jew from manufacture, it could not prevent him from buying and selling second hand articles. Hence these two callings—peddling and dealing in second hand wares (particularly clothing)—became with money lending the characteristic Jewish occupations for centuries. Any attempt however to extend the basis of economic life—to open shops outside the Jewish quarter to purchase and to cultivate agricultural holdings to engage in any sort of manufacture—was suppressed ruthlessly time after time and in country after country. For upwards of a thousand years the Jew was excluded from most normal economic activities. For about a hundred in western Europe (less in some other parts) he has been allowed more ample opportunity. If he has not entirely succeeded in regaining his balance so soon the fault is assuredly not his.

THE MARTYRDOM

I

THE processes that have been described above had a cumulative effect. I will recapitulate. The Jew represented a religious minority in an age when religion was taken more seriously than today more than this he was held to be responsible for the Crime to which Christianity owed its origin and regarding which the passions of Christians were periodically stirred to fever pitch. Because he was a religious minority he was segregated from the rest of humanity and indeed, distinguished from them by a special badge of shame. Hence however long his ancestors had been settled in any particular country or city he was considered a stranger and subjected to all the atrocious xenophobia of the Middle Ages.

He was segregated moreover not only socially but economically too. He was driven into various urban occupations more especially money lending in which profit would have been considerable had not spoliation followed so rapidly on its heels. Hence he was envied by the poor who were convinced there must be money in the Jewish quarter hated by his clients who saw in him the instrument through which the king denuded them of their property resented by the baronage who recognized in him the agent of royal exactions and hence of royal absolutism and protected by the Crown only when the slow process of taxation seemed more lucrative than the catastrophic one of spoliation. It was to the interest of no one else to protect him it was to everyone's to attack him. Moreover that spirit of religion which should have been

a restraining influence provided in most cases (owing to the special circumstances) the initial impetus if not the actual cause for the onslaught (There were however some noble exceptions Saint Bernard of Clairvaux—to mention only one name—is revered in Jewish history for the protection which his eloquence gave to the Jews of the Rhineland during the Second Crusade)

II

Once a section of the population was set aside for prejudice and contumely and was barred off from all normal intercourse with its neighbours it was natural for the most preposterous ideas about it to be evolved and the most absurd misconceptions to arise. It was thus held (the belief still lingers in remote districts even in England to the present time) that the Jews were endowed by a beneficent providence with tails. It was believed too (Sir Thomas Browne thought it necessary to classify it as a common superstition) that they had a special odour over and above the all pervading unwashed odour of mediæval humanity which disappeared automatically when the waters of baptism were administered to them (I do not know whence it comes but an odour as of Jews is troubling me remarked a convert to Christianity in a mediæval anecdote when her father came to intercede with her). Finally Jews were thought to be subject to a perpetual bloody flux a reminder to all generations of their share in the Crucifixion.

Now it was clear that persons endowed with these physical characteristics were capable of practices to match however abominable. It was widely believed, therefore that the Jews—the child loving people *par excellence* of the world—were in the habit of sacrificing Christian children at intervals in mockery of the Passion of Jesus. The blood thus procured (it was said) was used in their Pass-

over rites its consumption being held to relieve them of the special odour with which they were endowed.

This sort of fable was an old one Renan once called attention to the uninventiveness of human malignity pointing in particular to this specific charge which is constantly brought up against unpopular religious minorities of every creed, all over the world It was as a matter of fact raised against the early Christians during the first persecutions against the monks of Mt. Sinai by the Arabs against the Jesuit Missionaries in China in the sixteenth century against the first European residents by the Japanese, and against the Christians in the Far East at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. In every case it was unfounded and absurd In the case of the Jews however it was peculiarly so For the reiterated Biblical prohibition to consume animal blood (Leviticus xvii 10-14 Deuteronomy xii 16 23-5) received at the hands of the Rabbis an extravagant interpretation Every animal had to be slaughtered for food in such a manner that it instantaneously lost the maximum amount of blood every remaining drop was drained off before the meat was permitted for food and a man was even forbidden by the ritualists to eat a piece of apple which shewed the slightest trace of his own bleeding gums! A conforming Jew would thus submit to unheard of torture rather than consume a particle of blood He considered human flesh—moral questions aside—as technically forbidden. Yet he of all persons was accused of making a practice of consuming human blood criminally obtained, as a regular religious rite!

Yet, however preposterous the charge, it was in the Middle Ages believed in almost universally It was said that in the spring of every year representatives of Jewish communities cast lots among themselves to decide where the crime should be committed. Some time subsequently an innocent child would be done to death and

drained of his blood which would be mingled with the Passover wine or used in the manufacture of the Passover bread. It did not matter that ruler after ruler condemned this absurd fable that the Popes (always fair however severe) forbade Christians to believe in it, that impartial inquiry acquitted the accused. It was very seldom that it came to a question of inquiry.

Time after time century after century in place after place the accusation was renewed and led in almost every instance to mob justice to mass condemnation and a trail of bloodshed. The questionable credit of having first brought the accusation to life lies with England where in 1144 there occurred the classical instance associated with the name of William of Norwich. A case followed at Gloucester in 1168 then three years later with a case at Blois accompanied by a ghastly toll of human lives it obtained its first foothold on the Continent. Here it recurred with increasing frequency. Upwards of 150 recorded episodes of the sort are listed by the historians yet probably these do not constitute more than a fraction of the whole. In almost every case the accusation was followed by wholesale arrests and spoliation—frequently by massacre.

A wave of blood accusations swept over Poland in the eighteenth century which was responsible for the dignified Report of Cardinal Ganganeli (afterwards Pope Clement XIV) in which he completely exonerated Jews of all conceivable blame for such outrages. Nevertheless throughout the nineteenth century there were other sporadic outbursts—though seldom by a curious coincidence in any place where an impartial trial could be assured. In the twentieth century it has been revived in Nazi Germany under semi official auspices in the famous Jew baiting organ *Der Stuermer* with a plethora of revolting and chimerical detail. On many occasions the only evidence of the crime was a miracle said to have been

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

ished by the relics of the victim
so gentle and cultured a spirit as Chaucer
tly in the fable. It was enshrined in popul
picted in popular broadsheets In plac



NAZI FOLK LORE

(Cartoon from *Der Stuermer*)

vs had lived for centuries the child receive
sion of the modern representatives of
ble for his Saviour's death by being take
rine of some supposititious martyr in the
hearing the old folk-song at his mother's
ount of the Bloody Jews and their han

Christian folk. Even in our own more sophisticated day The Prioress's Tale included in the school curriculum without a line of explanation, can hardly fail to have a similar effect. The seeds of anti-Semitism are well and truly sown.

Legends of the sort grew Topsy like without outside agency. At Lincoln the city where Little St Hugh was said to have been martyred in 1255 a notice now displayed above his reputed sepulchre characterizes the Ritual Murder libel as "a common superstition, now wholly discredited which had its origin in the 'fanatical hatred of the Jews' that prevailed in the Middle Ages. Yet romantic visitors insist on inspecting in the legendary Jews' Court ' on Steep Hill the well in which the infant martyr's body was thrown—notwithstanding the fact that the authorities are prepared to produce the gentleman, still living who was responsible for digging it'.

III

The Ritual Murder libel fantastic though it was was followed by another even more preposterous. It was in 1215 that the Fourth Lateran Council recognized officially the doctrine of Transubstantiation—that is that in the ceremony of the Holy Communion the consecrated elements become the actual body and blood of Jesus Christ. Now it so happens that a microscopical scarlet organism (known as the *micrococcus prodigosus*) having an appearance not unlike that of blood, may sometimes form on stale food kept in a dry place. This similarity to blood led in the Middle Ages to the assumption that it was blood, and was regarded as a proof of maltreatment. In such cases the prodigy was generally believed to be the outcome of a fiendish plot of the Jews who desiring in their satanic hatred to renew upon the body of the Lord the agonies of the Passion, had somehow obtained to the con

Sterneberch.



Iā den bosen ioden volget hyr eyn ghe-
ar to vā den sulue eyn merklik gheoy

HOST DESECRATION

(From a woodcut 1492)

element and tortured it with knives
bled
des was rather more insane than fanta-
ld have gone to the trouble and risk o-
ie actually believed that the wafer was
four—in which case he would not hav-
ior could he conceivably have desired to

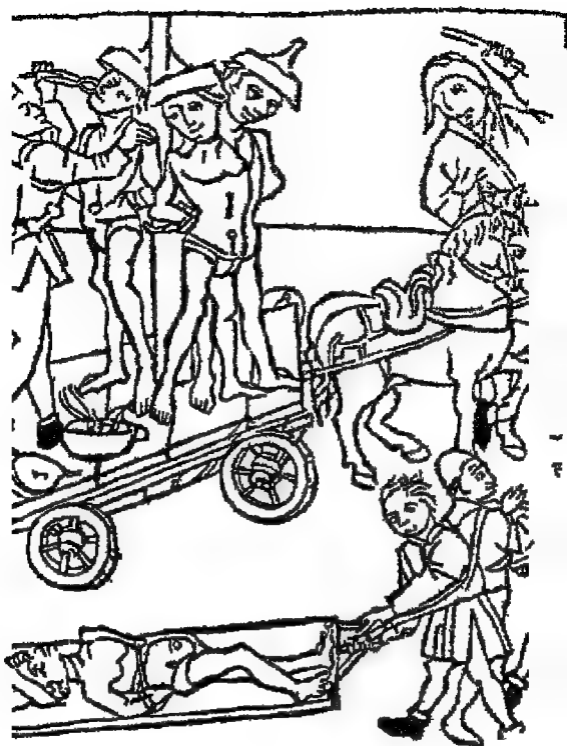
THE MARTYRDOM

such an outrage Yet this self contradictory extravaganza caused the loss of the lives of thousands from the period when it was first mooted at Beelitz near Berlin in 1243 when scores of Jews and Jewesses were burned at the stake upon this charge Later cases of the sort with their accompaniment of pillage bloodshed, and banishment were recurrently brought up all over Europe, culminating in *causes célèbres* (which are still commemorated locally) at Paris in 1290 at Brussels in 1370 and elsewhere And in 1420 a charge of this type led to the extermination with a horror of cruelty unequalled until 1938 of the entire Jewish community of Vienna

IV

Such were the "crimes" of which the Jews were universally held guilty All reinforced the ecclesiastical thesis that they were the enemies of Christendom and of Christian folk It was true that the heads of the Catholic Church added the corollary that their continued existence—especially if it were an ignominious one—was testimony to the truth of the Gospels that they were not to be physically maltreated and that the persuasion of argument only should be brought to bear upon them to make them realize the verities of the Christian faith Secular spirits—and indeed many of the clergy too—could not comprehend this delicate though logical reasoning and the artificially engendered hatred generally found its outlet sooner or later in massacre

For a thousand years therefore the record of the Jews in Europe was a protracted martyrdom In all history there is little more harrowing than this bloodstained record. The continuous record begins with the First Crusade when the eager soldiers of the Cross were persuaded that they could gain paradise by the slaughter of a single infidel, of whatever religious persuasion, and began to save the sepulchre of Christ by onslaughts on the Jewish



JEWS BEING DRAGGED OFF TO MARTYRDOM
(From an old woodcut 1475)

along the Rhineland With the Second Crusade
tion spread to France and with the Third to Eng
re the entire community of York immolated
er than fall into the hands of the assailants In
enten sermons of a zealous archdeacon at Se
the pretext for the beginning of a wave of massa
am, from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar

THE MARTYRDOM

a hundred cities the number of victims
70 000 souls In Germany—the classic
martyrdom for a thousand years—no few
ing communities were wiped out in 129
ence of a charge of ritual murder in o
t years later almost the whole Jewish p
ice Swabia and Franconia was extermin
was reached at the period of the Black
relative immunity of the denizens of the



MASSACRE OF JEWS

(From an old woodcut, 1493)

o a widespread allegation that they had p
with a concoction manufactured of spider
ristian hearts and consecrated Hosts
mmunities of some 350 places were bu

In eastern Europe the outbreak of the Ukrainian Cossacks against Polish misrule in the seventeenth century was accompanied by a series of onslaughts on the Jews just as any outbreak of the Poles against the Ukrainians would have been. Massacres took place in 1648-9 on a scale and of a ferocity which beggared anything previously known in European history. The horrors were accentuated by the refinement of ingenuity shewn in the tortures by which they were accompanied while the Poles betrayed their Jewish fellow citizens in many places in the mistaken hope of saving their own lives. Six years later at the time of the Russian invasions the scenes were repeated, the toll of Jewish lives between 1648 and 1658 being reckoned at 100 000. A hundred years later bands of "Haidamack" rebels rose again in the Ukraine perpetrating atrocities which at least rivalled these.

Thereafter with the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution and the spread of Western ideas it was thought that a new era had set in. But in 1881 a series of outbreaks took place in Russia which added a new word—'pogrom'—to the vocabulary of Europe and devastated no fewer than 160 Jewish centres. These scenes were repeated at intervals as long as the old Russian Empire lasted and in the travail which succeeded its fall. It was these Russian pogroms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which sent wave after wave of refugees to seek a new home in the lands of freedom in the West. There are few Jews in the Western world who did not lose some kinsman in those troubled days. Your little East End tailor your Seventh Avenue costumer is a living link between yourself and one of the most poignant tragedies of history.

being the anticipated outcome of the second coming of Christ. It was for this reason that the Catholic Church officially held that the Jews were to receive toleration though no more. But lay intellects could not appreciate the subtle distinctions of ecclesiastical dialectic. At intervals some overzealous son of the Church, desirous of purging his dominions of the taint of disbelief against which he had been so persistently warned, decided to expel all the Jews from his realm once for all. They could not, of course, be permitted (any more than their descendants at the present time) to take all their substance with them, for that would denude the realm of some of its wealth. Accordingly, sometimes with little more than the clothes they wore and their beloved books, they would be hounded over to the frontiers, notwithstanding the parching heat of a Mediterranean summer or the rigours of a mid-European winter, hundreds or thousands falling by the way. Their social conduct or commercial habits would occasionally be adduced as a further justification for inhuman treatment. Yet the pretext was belied by the fact that any who professed to be converted to Christianity were permitted to stay—and staying were ensured of the support of the faithful.

Thus the Jews were expelled from various countries in the Dark Ages: from England in 1290, from France in 1306 and (more completely) in 1394, from Spain in 1492, from Portugal in 1497, from Naples in 1540, from Brandenburg in 1509, from Vienna in 1670, from Bohemia in 1745. (The sequence has not yet ended, and places which figure in letters of blood and fire in Jewish history of past ages come into today's news sometimes in an identical connotation.)

on the soil—had such a thing been possible—when he had to face the risk of expropriation and expulsion once again? It was necessary for him to have his property in a form as easily transportable as possible—in cash or gold or jewels—which he could pack up and conceal if he had to take up the wanderer's staff anew. He tended naturally to congregate in the great seaports where he disembarked penniless without the means to continue his journey in land. He crowded together with others in hastily constructed tenements so that the inhabitants accused him of filth and insanitary living and of being responsible for the spread of disease. Moreover whereas he might have been settled in his previous home for untold generations his language and his customs and his way of life being at one with the rest of the inhabitants (save in the matter of religion) he was now a stranger a foreigner an alien speaking with pathetic fidelity the tongue of the land that had spewed him out.

At the threshold of these expulsions it was necessary for him only to accept a formula in order to be saved the pangs of exile. The acceptance of a single drop of baptismal water was enough to entitle him to remain and enjoy his property the scenes in which he had been brought up and the land where his fathers lay buried and to avoid the hideous uncertainty of the future which lay before him. There were of course some Jews who chose that easier way. But they were a tiny minority. The ungainly figure of the Wandering Jew clad in rags footsore, weary, and penniless snatching repose for a few moments until some new storm buffeted him on towards a new stage in his wanderings—that ungainly figure acquires a heroic dignity when one realizes that he could have thrown off his rags and clad himself in scarlet and enjoyed peace and quiet and affluence by pronouncing one single word—a word which he did not pronounce.

CHAPTER SIX

EMANCIPATION

I

could be driven into their Ghettos by
y to drive them into a Ghetto life
pious Christians they persisted in retain



JEWISH MINNESINGER

from a manuscript in the University Library
Heidelberg, circ 1300)

side interests, and in collaborating effectively (so far as it was humanly possible) in the activities of the outside world. There were Jewish minnesingers in thirteenth century Germany, Jewish song writers in thirteenth century Italy, Jewish troubadours in thirteenth century France. When the Dark Ages lost all idea of the magnificent heritage of Greece—its philosophy and its medicine and its science—it was the Jews together with the Arabs who treasured it and yet further developed it. Hence, just after the Norman Conquest of England when Europe once more became interested in such things, inquiring scholars had recourse first and foremost to the Jewish quarter. It was thus largely through the devious medium of translations from Greek to Arabic and from Arabic to Hebrew and from Hebrew to Latin that the first breath of the Renaissance stirred Europe and without these Jewish intermediaries the background even of Dante would be unrecognizable.

This service in the transmission of learning had already then an ancient and honourable tradition behind it. Even the so-called "Arabic" numerical system that we use, without which modern mathematical and technical advances would have been impossible, was first introduced to the Arabs from India in the eighth century by a Jew and transmitted from the Arabs to Latin Europe in the eleventh century by converts from Judaism.

Such activities did not preclude original work. On the contrary they incited to it. Notwithstanding the prohibition which obtained in the Christian world, the names of thousands of Jewish physicians of the Middle Ages have been preserved, including men like Isaac Israeli, who were among the fathers of mediæval medicine. The medical works of the great Maimonides were studied at the universities of Christian Europe down to the eighteenth century. In England, though Jews were officially excluded at the time, Whittington had to a Jewish physi-

cian to attend upon his wife And, later on, on the threshold of modern times great names emerge like those of Garcia d Orta, the founder of tropical medicine and Rodrigo de Castro the founder of gynæcology Mai monides is of course best remembered as a philosopher and to his speculations St. Thomas Aquinas was indebted for a good deal in that great system of thought which mediæval Europe regarded as fundamental.

Other Ghetto scholars turned to astronomy and were responsible for many noteworthy innovations. The greatest centre of map making in the fourteenth century was the Jewish quarter of Palma, in Majorca where the discoveries of Marco Polo were first recognized and incorporated in representations of the contemporary world It was a map by a Jewish expert that the King of Aragon sent as a present to the King of France when the latter applied to him for the best available and further productions of this school accompanied all the great explorers of the period on their voyages The famous nautical school at Sagres the cradle of the Portuguese discoveries which resulted in the rounding of the Cape and the opening of the sea route to India, was first directed by a Majorcan Jew forcibly baptized as a preliminary and both the improved astrolabe and the Jacob's Staff—the two indispensable instruments for nautical observation used by all the explorers of the period—were invented by Jewish Rabbis

When Christopher Columbus was attempting to find support for the voyage which was to result in the discovery of America, encountering rebuff after rebuff at every court of Europe it was from a group of Jews and crypto Jews alone that he found encouragement. One of them provided the funds for his expedition and was rewarded by being the recipient of the first report of the discovery of the New World The expedition was equipped with the nautical instruments of one Jew and the astronomical tables compiled by another (with the aid of which the

explorer discourteously anticipating Allan Quatermain, was able to foretell an eclipse and thus save himself from the superstitious natives) As for the expedition itself one ex Jew served on it as physician and one as surgeon it was a crypto Jewish sailor who first sighted the New World, and the crypto Jewish interpreter who first landed on it And (it may be added) before a generation was out, Jews figured as victims in the first auto da fe staged in the Western Hemisphere

But all this fruitful activity was in the teeth of the opposition of official Christianity in an age when official Christianity meant official Europe Time after time the intercourse which such collaboration entailed was condemned in the most sweeping terms Time after time specific regulations were enacted to restrict or prevent such relations The system of exclusion and contumely which was built up remained in force it may be said until the nineteenth century

II

Breaches were indeed made in the system earlier So early as the seventeenth century Protestant England and Holland, waiting on profit as well as on the Lord had anticipated the beneficial effects of a Jewish settlement on the export trade and had accorded a certain measure of social and economic freedom Nevertheless important restrictions still continued even in these comparatively liberal lands Thus it was not until 1831 that Jews were permitted to open retail shops in the City of London Hence, even here they were compelled to resort in large numbers for their livelihood to the traditional callings of peddling and old-clothes dealing Equality and freedom of opportunity thus began (unless we are to take into account the complete emancipation of the tiny handful of Am

Jews in consequence of the War of Independ

ence) only with the French Revolution the fathers of which somewhat to their surprise discovered that even Jews could not logically be excluded from the scope of the Declaration of the Rights of Man

From 1789 onwards therefore a new dawn broke for the Jews of Europe. In Italy and elsewhere freedom was introduced by the French armies which broke down the walls of the Ghettos and summoned its stunted denizens forth to enjoy the rights of human beings. In Prussia emancipation came about in 1812 when a hard pressed country rallying all elements to fight against the invader in the War of Liberation decided that the support even of the Jews was worth achieving

Outside France and Holland, the reaction which succeeded the Battle of Waterloo did away with these new won rights. Yet they remained part of the constitutional programme and in the course of the nineteenth century as Liberalism triumphed in land after land the Jews were granted equality before the law. In England, restriction after restriction was swept away in the course of the first half of the century. Parliamentary emancipation lagged behind largely owing to the obscurantist majority in the House of Lords but at last in 1858 Jews were admitted to sit in the Commons and twenty eight years later the first Jew was raised to the Peerage.

In Germany equality reappeared momentarily as a natural consequence of the constitutional movement of the 1830s and 1840s, was swept away in the subsequent reaction but became the general rule in the 1860s. In Italy it was part of the liberal programme of the Risorgimento the last disabilities finally (as it then seemed) disappearing in their last stronghold, when Rome became the capital of United Italy. Most of the other European countries fell into line at the same period. Thus after 1870 it may be said that Jewish emancipation had been generally achieved, except in backward parts of the world such as

Czarist Russia and the Barbaric States Even here however it was generally anticipated that the same benefits would be extended with the progress of time the extension of sanitation and the adoption of Western dress

III

It is not to be imagined that this "emancipation" in the period between the downfall of the French monarchy and the establishment of the German Empire implied simply the right to sit in Parliament or to vote for the Municipal Council This was only part—an insignificant part—of the whole By and large the change meant that the Jews were at last accorded the rights, not of citizens only but of human beings It meant that they could at last live where they pleased It meant that certain cities were no longer barred to them It meant that they no longer had to return each night to their Ghettos It meant that they need no longer wear a distinctive dress It meant that they were no longer compelled to restrict themselves, as their fathers had done to the ignoble callings of money lending and peddling and old clothes dealing They could study at the universities They could enter the professions They could become lawyers or doctors and practise among the ordinary population without restriction Most precious privilege of all, all might now marry if they were so inclined and not the eldest son of the family alone It meant that the world with its opportunities of life and of happiness were at last open to the sons whom they begot.

As was only to be expected, the newly emerged denizens of the Ghetto took full advantage of the opportunities that at last lay opened out before them Money lenders developed their businesses and became bankers and assisted in financing the Railway Age and the later phases of the Revolution Old-clothes men became tailors,

and pawnbrokers by a natural transition antique dealers their children sometimes developing into art experts of international reputation. Pedlars were at last able to set up shops and became merchants later they introduced improved processes in production in manufacture and above all in the distributive trades. The next generation made a further step forward. They had been reproached previously that they did not care for any thing but business. Very well they would now prove how much this was not the case. They would enter into the professions and shew the world that they could make good in them. So Jewish lawyers began to emerge, and Jewish physicians and Jewish scholars and Jewish journausts and Jewish authors—a remarkable galaxy including some of the fine flower of nineteenth-century civilization.

So far indeed were Jews permeated with the conviction that their troubles were now at an end that, within the community disintegration set in to a prodigious extent. Toleration achieved instantaneously in many cases what persecution had failed to do in centuries. Now that religion was no longer paramount, as it had formerly been, it became easy for an apathetic Jew to become by undergoing a single painless formality an apathetic Christian and this took place with distressing frequency. More frequently still Jews ingenuously believing that the halcyon days of mutual trust and toleration had arrived cast off their Jewish beliefs and Jewish practices which they considered to have become trivial and settled down to become Englishmen and Frenchmen and Germans without further qualification. (It came as a great shock when in many cases they found that their children were swept into the enthusiasms of the dominant faith and grew up with a healthy anti Jewish prejudice.)

Above all with the increase of social intercourse between Jews and non Jews on a normal footing in ———

between the two elements increased to an enormous degree, so that in some outlying Jewish communities the proportion of unions in which both partners were Jews was actually in a minority. Generally this resulted in the setting up of a family which, whether nominally Jewish or nominally Christian or ostensibly neither was supremely subject to the attraction of the environment. In an overwhelmingly large proportion of cases the offspring was completely lost to Judaism. Even those Jews who remained loyal to the spiritual tradition of their ancestors (and there were some places where they were now a minority) thought it desirable to modify the modes of worship and the folk ways which had been evolved in the course of the previous long centuries. In the process their power of resistance suffered and their children tended to be absorbed in the majority. In many Western countries (and Germany was pre eminent in this respect) it seemed as though any lingering difficulties between Jew and Christian would be solved by the disappearance of the Jew.

IV

It is worth while to pause for a moment to consider this remarkable outpouring of talent to which reference has been made above. That it should have emerged is not remarkable. There was probably no question of exceptional intellectual qualities. The Jew is no more gifted than his neighbour except inasmuch as an urbanized element tends to be more intellectual than a rural one. To this may perhaps be added the cumulative effect of centuries of bookish training and the passion and self sacrifice with which the Jewish parent works to secure for his son the best possible education.

But another force was operative more imperative than these. For so long the Jews had been artificially kept down and repressed. For so long they had been com

pressed to devote all their attentions to degraded occupations. For so long all their intellectual activity had been restricted to a single subject and their lives bounded by a single street. Now when external pressure was removed they could not help pressing with irresistible force towards every possible outlet. It was not (as it has been expressed) that the newly emancipated Jews of the nineteenth century rose above their level: it was that, after a lapse of centuries they at last found their level.

Whatever the reason the consequences were remarkable. Let us use a well known and highly respectable intellectual barometer. The Jews awarded the Nobel Prize down to 1933 numbered fourteen in addition to whom there were six half Jews. Of the population of the Western world the Jews constitute not more than 1 per cent. but they thus included some 10 per cent. of the Nobel Prize-winners. Numerically they were exceeded only by the French and Germans—of whom however (though the Jews were only one in a hundred of the German population) one-quarter were Jews. Of the seven American prize-winners, two were Jews but the Jews in America do not number more than 3 per cent. of the total population. Here one has some sort of index of the importance of the Jewish share in the intellectual and scientific (and above all as it happens in the medical) activities of the modern world in the period succeeding their emancipation.

The results were it can be said, prodigious. But I will not be unctuous about it. Pioneers and inventors irrespective whether they are Jews or Celts black haired or red haired work because of some inner impulsion too subtle in its nature to be bound up with any single element in their constitution. The more disinterested they are the more readily they will admit that there are few steps in human ~~progress~~ which can be isolated from what ~~comes~~ before and after. Great scientific advances, even when

they result from a flash of genius must _____ly be dependent on the labours of previous generations of inquirers just as they themselves build the basis for subsequent development. It is no more sensible to isolate the contribution of any one man than it is to remove a length of the side-piece from a ladder in the expectation that the ladder will perform its functions equally well.

Exactly the same should be said of the Leopold Harrises and the Dutch Schulzes. The Jews being as human as the Maoris and the Bolivians must be permitted their share of criminals as they must have their share of diabetics and asthmatics. But when the Jewishness of a Leopold Harris is shrilly insisted on the least that can be done is to display by the citation of such instances as are here assembled that Jews have amply played their part in the development of this brave new world.

V

We may begin at random, with the subject which most vitally affects an author. In every country Jews began at this period to make their contribution to national literature. Heine in Germany Brandes in Denmark Disraeli in England Mendes in France. No less significant were the half Jews who range from that Palgrave who compiled *The Golden Treasury* to Bret Harte who discovered the literary potentialities of the American scene, and from Marcel Proust, who founded a new school of fiction to André Maurois who founded a new school of biography (This is less surprising when we recall that the great Montaigne himself was the son of a Jewish mother.) In Germany above all, half of the great imaginative writers through whom German literature became known in the outside world—Heine and Wassermann and Zweig and Feuch and _____ and _____ and Ludwig and Toller were Jews.

The Jewish on with the stage too was particularly close. Playwrights like Pinero Sutor Bernstein Schnitzler players like Rachel Tree Bergner Bernhardt producers like Brahm Jessner Reinhardt—all these took an important share in making the drama the vital thing that it was to become during the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On the concert platforms half of the great instrumentalists from Moscheles and Rubinstein to Heifetz, were Jews and if the number of Jewish composers of the first rank was not great, they included giants such as Mendelssohn Meyerbeer and Mahler.

So too with art. The Dutch did not hesitate to consider Israel's the Rembrandt of the nineteenth century and the First Reich certainly produced no German artist more distinguished than Liebermann. In the radical schools which emerged with the twentieth century Jews were prominent producing their Botticelli in Amedeo Modigliani. Camille Pissaro earlier was among the founders of the Impressionist school in France and today Jacob Epstein may be counted among the greatest sculptors of modern times.

VI

Most distinguished of all was the contribution of the Jews to medicine. Though it has been quoted more than once before one cannot resist the temptation of repeating the summary which was drawn up by a non Jewish medical man at the time when the Hitler regime started in Germany.

“A Nazi who has venereal disease must not allow himself to be cured by salvarsan because it is the discovery of the Jew Ehrlich. He must not even take steps to find out whether he has this ugly disease because the Wasser-

mann reaction which is used for the purpose is the discovery of a Jew. A Nazi who has heart disease must not use digitalin, the medical use of which was discovered by the Jew Ludwig Traube. If he has toothache he will not use cocaine or he will be benefiting by the work of a Jew Carl Koller. Typhoid must not be treated or he will have to benefit by the discoveries of the Jews Widal and Weil. If he has diabetes he must not use insulin because its invention was made possible by the research work of the Jew Minkowsky.

If he has a headache he must shun pyramidon and antipyrin (Spiro and Eilege). Anti-Semites who have convulsions must put up with them for it was a Jew Oscar Liebreich who thought of chloral hydrate. The same with psychic ailments. Freud is the father of psychoanalysis. Anti-Semitic doctors must jettison all discoveries and improvements by the Nobel Prizemen Bárány, Otto Warburg, the dermatologists Jadassohn, Bruno Bloch, Unna, the neurologists Mendel, Oppenheim, Kronecker, Benedikt, the lung specialist Fraenkel, the surgeon Israel, the anatomist Henle and others.

This record grows almost daily. As I write these lines there is published the account of a remarkable discovery whereby at last medicine is given a weapon for use against pneumonia. The report in *The Times* ends:

'Incidentally the possibility of disarming bacteria by stripping them of their capsules opens up an entirely new field of work the tilling of which is likely to occupy research workers during many years. The discovery of the special powers of the sulphanilamide group was made in Germany and was to some extent due to an accident. But the work lies in a line which leads back directly to the pioneer researches of Paul Ehrlich and his pupils

To the mind uninitiated in the mysteries of racial science such a statement makes the application of any sort of numerical regulation to medical study not merely preposterous but potentially criminal. The more recent news from Germany that Jews are to be totally withheld from medical practice and research is the pinnacle of outrage. It will be a moral responsibility that would harrow any but the Nazi mind that so a new Ehrlich or a new Wassermann might be deprived of the chance of serving humanity.

In other fields Jewish scholars were responsible for the evolution of new and fruitful theories which widened human horizons and opened up new lines of inquiry. Lazarus and Steinthal founded the science of racial psychology and Durkheim modern sociology. It was Lombroso who first claimed that crime is the product of a diseased mind which needed curative treatment, founding thereby the modern science of criminology. Above all three Jews were responsible for the profound change in the world's philosophic outlook induced by those major conceptions: Bergson's Theory of Creative Evolution, Einstein's Theory of Relativity and Freud's discovery of the Subconscious and the new science of Psychoanalysis.

To enter a less austere field of spiritual activity it is not generally known that it was a Jew, Lewis Gompertz, deviser of numerous appliances intended to ameliorate the treatment of dumb beasts who was the father of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The dreams of Isaiah were renewed in the nineteenth century by Jean Bloch whose proposals were responsible for The Hague Peace Conference of 1899 and for the establishment of The Hague Tribunal for International Arbitration, and by Lazar Zamenhof, who devised Esperanto in the hope that an international medium would lessen international misunderstanding.

Above all, the

nal Jewish love of

was

allowed at last free expression in the new era and the ideals of the Ghetto were allowed to permeate the State. The lives of 5 000 babies are saved each year in England alone through the researches of Ehrlich that those born deaf are now able to speak is partly due to the pioneering efforts of Pereire and Van Praagh. Nathan Straus of New York was responsible more than any other man for the general introduction of pasteurized milk and Dr Barnardo who was of Jewish descent established the world's greatest orphanage.

VII

The contribution to public life cannot be neglected for many Jews considered it a point of honour to take on the responsibilities as well as the privileges of their new position. All political parties were represented. At one time there was no doubt a bias to Liberalism and the parties of the Left, which had favoured Jewish emancipation. This however was never exclusive. Hence the prophet of the new Conservatism in England, Benjamin Disraeli, and the theorist of Junkerism in Germany, Friedrich Stahl were of Jewish birth figures certainly as influential as Lasker the founder of the National Liberal party in Germany or Crémieux, the veteran French Liberal who was responsible for the abolition of capital punishment for political offences. If there was any quality that might be deemed specifically Jewish in these men it lay only in their common sympathy with suffering humanity a quality further exemplified in Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx (though of Marx it must be stated he was a Jew only by descent, having been baptized in his youth, having been educated as a Protestant and having been outspokenly anti-Jewish throughout his life).

Even to the art of war (I add with less, or another sort

of pleasure) Jews contributed it is enough to mention Rubin Ventura the adventurer from Lombardy who became commander of the Lahore army General Giuseppe Ottolenghi at one time Italian Minister for War and Sir John Monash who commanded the Australian forces in France during their smashing victories in 1918 and was (it is said) designated by Lloyd George to the supreme command of the British Expeditionary Force

It would certainly be distressing to the devoted Nazi were he to realize to what extent Jewish talent is involved in the initiation and development of many of those devices on whose efficiency his movement so largely depends Herr Hitler when he holds his vast audiences spellbound by his eloquence uses a language which received its standards of orthography from a primitive translation of the Hebrew scriptures which was made malleable by Luther's famous version of the Bible which was enriched by the lyric genius of Heinrich Heine and which was purified by the Jewish lexicographer of the last century Daniel Sanders He declaims into a microphone for which part of his thanks are due to the Jew Emil Berliner his voice reaches a vast audience by means of the amplifier and again acknowledgment is due to a Jew Robert von Lieben The very handkerchief with which he mops his brow was popularized by Italian Jews of the age of the Renaissance whose Gentile contemporaries regarded its use as a rather disgusting habit

The voice of your totalitarian leader is carried into every home and workshop of the country by means of the radio based on the Hertzian waves discovered by the half Jew Heinrich Hertz (the basis also of course of wireless telegraphy as it was developed by Clerk Maxwell and Marconi) Distances are annihilated for him by the telephone and the motor car in whose invention or elaboration the Jews Philip Reis and Siegfried Marcus played a large part And finally if he were to cross the Atlantic he

would doubtless do so in a Zeppelin embodying among others the discoveries of the Jew David Schwartz the pioneer of the lighter than-air dirigible

So too with the cinema—another great agency of propaganda. The whole idea is based on the *camera obscura* described by a remarkable mediæval Jewish genius Rabbi Levi ben Gershom. Sensitized paper was first used in photography by the younger Herschel. The sound film was rendered possible by the invention of the microphone and amplifier to which the work of Berliner and Lieben contributed so notably while the latest advance—the introduction of colour—is the result of a discovery by the Jewish Nobel Prize winner Gabriel Lippmann. (If Jewish actors such as Eddie Cantor and Paul Muni Jewish producers such as David Selznick and Jewish organizers such as Irving Thalberg have since played a prominent part in the cinema world, they are simply following in the path where Jewish pioneers have led the way.)

And so with a score of other devices in universal use today. The safety bicycle with its spider wheel was made possible by Nahum Salomon who established the first bicycle factory in Coventry. The sewing machine with its vast sociological and economic implications was developed to its present high pitch of efficiency by the American Jew Isaac Singer. It is more in accordance with the current conception of Jewish interests that Abraham Stern made the first calculating machine but even the keyless watch, now in universal use, was the invention of Lawrence Barnett Phillips. That the safety match was invented by a Jew the Italian Samson Valobra, was only fitting for was not the first European to discover the use of tobacco Mestre Bernal, the crypto Jewish physician who accompanied Columbus on his first voyage?

Were all these Jewish contributions? It is absurd to imagine so. Many indeed of those who have been mentioned had little contact with Jews and Judaism some

officially embraced Christianity. Most were children of a non Jewish environment and in any case their public activity and their laboratory work lacked any Jewish flavour. They were simply normal human beings contributing—because it was impossible for them not to contribute—to the common stock of Western culture. Nor in many cases (as I have indicated) can they be given the entire credit for those innovations with which their names are associated—they are products of the age and the school and of the environment in which they were born. But if it is absurd to qualify their contributions as

Jewish ' it is maniacal to suggest that they were alien, and as such could be dispensed with together with those who were responsible for them, in the ideal commonwealth of the sage Nazi theorists

REACTION

I

A FRENCH writer has drawn a picture of the Wandering Jew listening from behind the doors to the debates of the National Assembly in 1791 while the admission of the Jews to the rights of citizens was being discussed. The debates concluded, the vote was taken and the motion was carried. Immediately the Wandering Jew threw aside his pack, straightened the eternal stoop out of his shoulders, and with a firm step entered the hall, a free man.

It was thus that every Jew regarded himself in the subsequent period. His wanderings his persecutions were over. He was at last a free man the equal of other men. He did not bear in his heart any resentment for what had happened in the past. (This perhaps is one of the most remarkable features of the entire scene.) His eyes were directed towards the future and to the Elysian age in which for the first time, he was to be allowed collaboration and participation.

He was at last allowed to partake of the good things of life and he seized them with both hands. In that first outburst of pent up ability and enthusiasm Jews attained distinction fame and sometimes power in almost every sphere. There was no reason indeed why they should not for it never entered the mind of any liberal minded person in those halcyon days that office and profession and the opportunity of service should be parcelled out in proportion to anything but ability.

But the Jews with other liberals were guilty of one serious of judgment. They imagined that, in this

new world of the railway and the franchise men would suddenly become rational beings guided by their intellect alone. They failed to realize that prejudice was stronger than logic. The old ecclesiastical anti-Semitism was in deed disappearing. No one now dared to say that the Jews should be excluded from public office because their ancestors had killed Christ, or that they should not enter the professions lest they should convert right minded Christians to Judaism. But the mentality which had been engendered by fifteen hundred years in which those principles had been incessantly preached in every church and enforced by every Government, could not be swept away by legislative silence in a couple of decades. The mediæval German burgher had been told to hate the Jews because they had martyred Jesus. His descendants in many cases preserved the hatred (it was inevitable that they should) though they discarded the reason.

It might be said there was more excuse of a kind for that hatred now than there had been in previous generations. We have seen how the Jew artificially suppressed for so long was thrust upwards by sheer force of circumstance acquiring a momentary prominence which he would never have achieved under normal conditions. For this to escape notice was not to be expected. Non Jews jostled by unfamiliar neighbours faced by new competition, finding the opposing political party led by persons of unorthodox antecedents hearing on all sides of professional men whose ancestors would not even have been allowed to live outside the Ghetto, and meeting persons in public life whose fathers had hawked old clothes through the streets were (not unnaturally it can be conceded) jealous. Their jealousy against the individual was generalized by the fact that its object belonged (as had always been the case throughout history) to an easily recognizable minority and it was fortified by the historic anti Jewish prejudice inherited from the

Jews were believed to represent a "Semitic" element as against the prevailing 'Aryan' culture of Europe (an absurdity to which we must revert later on) the term Anti Semitism was evolved to describe this new version of an old prejudice

II

Curiously even grotesquely it was a Jew who was indirectly responsible for loosing the storm. One of the principal conditions of the Peace of Frankfurt by which the war of 1870-1 had been concluded was the payment by France of an enormous war indemnity which was intended to crush her completely for a long period of years. Germany being Germany it was exacted ruthlessly and, France being France it was paid. The flow of gold over the Rhine provided an unprecedented stimulus to industrial and financial activity throughout the country. Speculation increased to a fantastic extent and as a natural consequence a company promotion mania set in with the usual catch penny mechanism and great titles figured in more than ordinary profusion on the prospectuses of the worthless concerns which continued to appeal in rapid succession for public money.

It was on February 7th, 1873 that the Jewish Liberal leader Eduard Lasker (very properly paying no attention to the fact that there were some shady Jewish financiers associated with the mania) called attention to the dangers of the situation in perhaps the most famous speech ever delivered in the Prussian Diet. This pricked the speculation bubble just in time to avert a worse disaster. There was a spectacular slump widespread bankruptcy and universal discontent. The ruined bourgeois looking for a scapegoat, disregarded the fact that it was a Jew who had prevented national bankruptcy and instead concentrated resentment on those Jews who had been associated (together with hosts of non Jews) in the fraudulent promo-

tions These clearly were the enemies of the Fatherland who were undermining its well being and conspiring with the French to rob it of the fruits of victory

Hence when in the same year an obscure Hamburg journalist named Wilhelm Marr published a sensational pamphlet, in a debased Hegelian jargon *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism* it fell upon fruitful soil¹ His appeal with its application of the fashionable new doctrines to the relations between the Jews and their neighbours was eagerly seized on by the Junkers, who saw in it a weapon against the upstart bourgeoisie (among whom there were some Jews) and by the clericals who objected to the liberal ideas which were spreading in the country (partly by the agency of certain other Jews) The movement did not become really dangerous however until 1879 when Bismarck abandoned the more or less constitutional policy which he had previously followed and which it was hoped he would continue to develop until Germany became another England. The National Liberal party which had hitherto faithfully supported him now went into opposition, bitterly disappointed. Bismarck was furious and the fact that Lasker and Bamberger the two leaders of the party happened to be Jews suggested an outlet for his passion in which politics and revenge could converge By playing upon the latent forces of Jew hatred he would simultaneously undermine the position of the liberal opposition and score off his personal grudge against its leaders.

Bismarck's powerful support was hence lent behind the scenes to the new anti-Semitic movement. Precise details are lacking but the results were instantaneous. With military precision, attacks on the Jews began to figure in the right wing Press. Anti-Semitic publications began to

This same gentleman was in fact the inventor of the term anti-Semite. He later turned away from the doctrines he had preached "with a disgust" (to quote his own words) "that made him sick."

pour on the market—their apparent volume being increased by the irritating eagerness of the Jews to answer pamphlet for pamphlet. The powerful voice of Treitschke the prophet of the neo Hegelian school was added to the babel. At the close of 1879 an anti Semitic league was founded. Before long declared anti Semitic deputies began to make their appearance in the Diet and the Reichstag where at one time they numbered as many as twenty five and all but gained control of the entire Conservative party (which—for history has a pretty sense of humour—was itself founded by a Jew).

There is no need to go here into an account of the murky progress of pre-war German anti Semitism which was apparently (though events have now belied appearances) more vocal than important. The movement was responsible for some sporadic violence the burning of one or two synagogues and a couple of ritual murder trials in the mediæval tradition. Though its extremest demands were rejected its influence was responsible for the exclusion of Jews—not by statute, but none the less rigorously—from commissions in the Army from any appointment of importance in the Civil Service or under the State and (even in the case of the most distinguished scholars in their particular spheres) from chairs in the universities. This policy of exclusion with one or two exceptions, which only added to the annoyance of the anti Semites incidentally resulted in an additional concentration of Jewish intellectuals in those professions which were left open particularly medicine certain branches of law and journalism.

The influence of the anti Semitic party was however restricted by its own internal dissensions and by a series of financial and other scandals which were all the more regrettable in a faction whose ostensible *raison d'être* was the debasement of public life by the Jews. Lucien Wolf, writing in 1911 could speak of the movement as

one the importance of which belonged to the past. Its permanent significance lay in two facts—first that from it anti Semitic movements radiated in the closing years of the nineteenth century into other countries and secondly that by it anti Semitism was kept alive in Germany into the twentieth

III

The progress of the new Jew hatred in the remainder of central and western Europe is a tortuous and somewhat boring story. In Austria Hungary the German model was faithfully followed—not without clerical encouragement there was a famous ritual murder trial at Tisza Eszlar resulting in the acquittal of the accused and for many years an anti Semitic administration controlled the municipality of Vienna. In France the spread of the new ideas from beyond the Rhine led to the organization of the Union Générale to combat “Jewish and

Masonic’ influence in banking but unfortunately it made a spectacular and not very creditable bankruptcy within a few years a good part of the savings of the Faubourg St. Germain disappearing with it. Nevertheless the anti Semitic movement was not seriously weakened and it achieved its greatest triumph when poor Captain Dreyfus was convicted of espionage and sent to Devil’s Island for no other reason, however fantastic it may sound, than that he was a Jew. In the end, to the relief of liberal minded persons throughout the world, the French ideal of justice triumphed over the reactionary military and clerical interests and the sentence was reversed. Meanwhile repercussions of the Continental movement reached even England, though they were restricted for the most part to the lucubrations of Professor Goldwin Smith the columns of the *Nineteenth Century* and criticism of the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield.

All this was in effect, of

But it was

different when the new ideas crossed the eastern frontier of Germany. In the Russian Empire where everything German was considered *ipso facto* the perfection of modern cultural achievement the new anti-Semitism was hailed with joy. Here the position of the Jews was different from that in the rest of Europe. Russian Jewry was a large body then comprising some 5 000 000 souls or nearly 50 per cent of the total Jewish population of the world at that time, and mainly living in the western provinces which had been acquired on the break up of Poland. There was no question here of any incursion into the Government or the professions or even to any serious extent into business. They constituted an ethnic minority like so many others throughout the empire, with their own dialect their own costume their distinctive occupations and above all their own religion—a particularly dangerous characteristic in a backward country. They had few political rights—but neither had any other of the inhabitants of the empire. It was therefore anticipated that, with the spread of Western ideas a more liberal constitution and complete religious liberty would ultimately place Russian Jewry on a similar footing to the remainder of their co-religionists throughout the Western world.

But unfortunately the ideas which penetrated into Russia at the close of the century were not from western but from central Europe—not the constitutionalism of England and of France, but the sabre-rattling Imperialism of Germany. Unfortunately too the assassination of Alexander II in 1881 turned the Government against the mere thought of reform in whatever sphere. As a result, the idea of ameliorating the position of the Jews and that of granting a Constitution, which logically had nothing whatsoever to do with one another were frenziedly opposed by the Court, with equal bitterness as the first step towards revolution. Moreover since the country as a

whole was centuries behind the rest of Europe, intellectually as well as economically the religious background which had been responsible for the mediæval anti Jewish feeling was faithfully reproduced and the Jew was regarded by every *moujik* as the slayer of Christ and the enemy of Christians

Into this magazine of combustible material was thrown the match of German scientific anti Semitism The results were appalling In April 1881 a wave of massacres began at Elisavetgrad (the pretext characteristically was a dispute about ritual murder) Before the autumn at least 160 communities had been devastated and thousands of Jews had lost their lives The news came as a shock to Europe as a whole where it had been imagined that such outrages had passed away for ever with the Middle Ages

Thenceforth periodically so long as Czarist Russia existed there were regular recurrences—sometimes as was long suspected and is now proved with the connivance and even encouragement of the Government who found this an admirable method for diverting discontent into politically innocuous channels and for stifling the constitutional movement by creating an unpopular cause with which to identify it The self-defence units which some of the more spirited of the younger generation formed were of course condemned as illegal and provocative In 1903 there took place the bloody massacre at Kishinev which lasted for three days and sent a wave of horror throughout the world From 1905 to 1909 alone it was reckoned that there were 284 outbreaks and no fewer than 50 000 victims Meanwhile the economic condition of the Jews was made impossible by the May Laws which the Government had issued in 1881 (ostensibly as a temporary expedient) on the principle that a minority which is attacked must necessarily require radical remedial treatment.

It has been necessary to go into this in some detail, not so much because of the consequences in Russia as because of those in western Europe with which we are here more intimately concerned. These outbursts (imitated on a smaller scale but more ingeniously in Roumania) almost broke the spirit of eastern European Jewry. No man knew where the blow would fall next. The only hope of salvation lay in flight. Within a few months of the bursting of the storm ten thousand destitute refugees arrived in a single Galician frontier town. Every fresh pogrom sent thousands more to join the number of the fugitives. Between 1881 and 1914 no fewer than 2 000 000 Russian and Polish Jews had left their homes to find refuge in lands of greater tolerance. The country seemed to be within measurable reach (except as regards the last particular) of the godly ideal enunciated by the President of the Holy Synod, who expressed the hope that before long one-third of Russian Jewry would emigrate, one third be massacred, and the remaining third converted.

IV

The flood of refugees was directed westward. There was hardly a country of Europe to which none found their way. Some settled in Germany and Austria—the latter being reinforced later on, in 1915 by the refugees flying before the Cossack invaders and sympathetically received by the patriotic Viennese. (It was only later on that a change in vocabulary and in outlook converted these miserable fugitives into "the scum of Eastern Europe.") There were large numbers in Paris and in England too. The immigration to America (where providentially the great labour famine made it possible for them to be absorbed) reached immense figures. Over 150 000 arrived in the single year 1906, and as many as 2,314 668 in all (including those from other lands of

oppression besides Russia) in the entire period 1881-1929

The consequence of all this was that both the distribution and the position of the Jew in the world changed. For generations before this period the mass of the world's Jews had lived in what was now the Russian Empire, and a comparatively insignificant minority in the Western Hemisphere. Henceforth other great new communities came into existence, and that of the United States of America ultimately became numerically the greatest of all the world's Jewries.

In other countries the numbers involved were far smaller. England for example which probably received most after the United States (for some inkling of British fair play and tolerance had reached even the teeming Ghettos of eastern Europe) can hardly have received more than 100 000 all told spread over half a century. But the figures were great enough to make a difference in the position of the native Jew. He had just vindicated his right to be a citizen of the country of his residence. Suddenly this influx immensely and awkwardly increased the proportion of aliens in the community and revived against him the anti-alien feeling which he had just begun to live down.

Poor immigrants be they eighteenth century Huguenots or nineteenth century Irish, are always accused of overcrowding, disease breeding and competing against the native-born workman in the labour market and of course this was the case at the time of the Jewish influx in the early years of the twentieth century. Once more even in liberal countries *all* Jews became the object of that anti-foreign feeling that had been stimulated by the recent enforced immigrants. Once more a community which had at last begun to find itself was thrown out of equilibrium by a sudden influx of coreligionists who were still in that unbalanced state which was one of the heritages of

the Middle Ages "The Jewish Problem" on the point of solution was given a fresh life. Russian anti-Semitism imported from abroad, created a condition which was responsible for the stimulation of anti-Semitism elsewhere. It is one of the most creditable chapters in the record of English Jewry that fully cognizant though it was of the danger threatened to its own position by this influx of refugees it pleaded consistently and courageously for the policy of the Open Door.

The door was not open for long. The Aliens Commission of 1904 and the Aliens Act of 1905 three quarters closed it. The total number of the new immigrants to Great Britain did not exceed 0.2 per cent of the total population. Did England gain or lose? She gained morally by not abandoning her age old policy of allowing those who are persecuted for the sake of their conscience to take refuge on her shores. She gained materially for the tobacco industry the clothing industry the cabinet making industry which probably give employment today to nearly as many hands as there are Jews in the country were largely their creation. To them is due too in large measure that astonishing progress in mass production in the tailoring industry of inestimable importance to the social historian which has made it possible in our day for the shop assistant to become a passable imitation of a duchess even to the initiated eye. The former reproaches—overcrowding and undercutting in the labour market—have long since been forgotten and replaced by new ones which in turn will pass in God's good time. Of the 50 000 Jews who served England gladly in the field between 1914 and 1918 and of the 10 000 who became casualties a majority were probably the sons of immigrant parents. Grateful for what England had given them, they gave England gladly all they had.

Nor has the intellectual contribution of the children of the Ghetto from to Epstein, been in derable

PHANTASMAGORIA

I

WE have traced the Jewish Problem now to the early years of the twentieth century. A scattered section of the population of Europe was long repressed by reason of its faith. The repression removed, it began by a natural reaction—probably only temporary—to work forward but its progress invited jealousy. Its history—its contemporary as well as its past history—deprived it of the normal economic balance of other peoples. And before it could recover from its most recent shock, the reaction in Russia, a great war burst upon the world, accompanied by revolution in one mighty empire and the military overthrow of another.

All these things had their influence on the position of the Jews. A war psychosis not only demands uniformity. It looks askance at persons of alien origin—and in every part of the world many Jews (in some parts, most) were recent arrivals. It did not matter that they enlisted by their thousands in all the combatant armies that there was no front on which Jews were not arrayed against Jews that (in a self-conscious hope in certain instances, to belie their reputation in the eyes of the world) some performed prodigies of valour that in the British Armies for instance, they won five Victoria Crosses and a proportionate number of similar decorations that Jews even wrote the patriotic songs which were in every mouth. In spite of all this, the anti-alien scare in every country involved the Jews. It was not so much that anti-Semitism flourished, as that the atmosphere in which anti-Semitism flourishes

was stimulated to a prodigious extent.

So it was the empire of the Czars fell as any tyranny must fall in the end even an efficient one (and that was the last thing that could be said of the tyranny of Russia) It happened that the Jews as the worst treated element in the Russian Empire had naturally inclined towards the parties of opposition who were pledged to remove their disabilities They were indeed, most prominent in the ranks of the moderates especially the Constitutional Democrats to which they provided in the person of Maxim Vinaver (subsequently Minister for Foreign Affairs under Denikin) one of its most influential voices always raised in strenuous opposition to the extremists There was however a handful who were prominent in the ranks of the Bolsheviks—notably Leon Trotsky whose genius made him one of the bugbears of anti revolutionaries throughout Europe after the October revolution

I maintain with an emphasis I do not need to point here that every man has the right to his political opinions perhaps even, if he is clear headed and clear mouthed not only the right but also the duty to express them There would hence be no more call for apology or shame were every Jew a member of the Bolshevik party than were every Jew a member of the Carlton Club But in the interest of truth it must be pointed out that the identification of the Jew with Bolshevism is simply the fabrication of Western mischief makers who did not scruple to identify that same Jew with the grossest capitalism Karl Marx its reputed prime apostle who was always rabidly opposed to Jews and Judaism was in that respect, at least, much less Jewish than Beaconsfield There was some thing Jewish, it can be maintained, in Marx's rigid logic and burning compassion for the sufferings of the submerged but it is hard to maintain that Bolshevism is not as much a Slavic as a Marxian system The Russian Jewish Socialist organization, the Bund, far from sup-

porting Bolshevism, opposed it bitterly and was in consequence suppressed. On March 15th 1918 the Moscow Government actually issued a manifesto attacking the Jews for their anti Soviet attitude and in the Ukraine the organized Jewish workers took up arms against the Bolsheviks. That after the Revolution Jews played a quite prominent part in the administration is due mainly to the fact that they happened to be literate—not a universal phenomenon in Russia. Even so when the Jewish representation in the Russian Government was at its height, in 1919 there were only eleven Jews by birth (all of whom had broken with Judaism) among its forty eight members. The eleven were Trotsky Zinovief Radek, Kamenief Uritsky Volodansky Litvinof Joffe Larine Stieklof, Sverdlov. (Despite continued assertions that they were Jews, Lenin, Chicherin, and Lunarcharsky were Russian aristocrats. Kamenief Dzerzhinsky Tomsky and Stalin were Russian bourgeois and Kalinin was a Russian workman.)

Since the purge of the Communist party during the past couple of years the number of Jews in high positions has declined almost to vanishing point. In 1922 Jews numbered only 4 per cent. of the membership of the Communist party. (I make these statements only in the interests of objectivity knowing very well that it is likely to prove equally unwelcome to Left and to Right devotees.) It has been pointed out that if blame is to be apportioned, it is more justifiable by far to blame the establishment of the Bolshevik system upon Germany whose Supreme Command in 1917 permitted Lenin and his associates free transit in a sealed carriage through Germany with the express idea (according to Ludendorff himself) that so Russia's morale in the field might be undermined.

But all this has mattered very little. To the White Russian, all revolutions have from the beginning been

Jews Only the other day I heard a quite literate English book writer again maintain Lenin was a Jew In western Europe it was vaguely felt that all Russian, i.e Bolsheviki names were Jewish in themselves or camouflage on the part of the wily Jews who bore them Once again unhelpful generalization was made and from the fact that some Bolsheviks were Jews it was concluded that all Jews were Bolsheviks

This allegation added to the war psychosis was during and after the World War responsible for the development of a new wave of anti-Semitism It was at its worst in eastern Europe where (especially in the Ukraine) there took place during the revolutionary struggles a series of pogroms more atrocious than anything previously recorded in Jewish history a quarter of a million lives being lost before some sort of order was restored The succession States —Poland, Roumania, Hungary Lithuania even Czechoslovakia—witnessed bloody disorders though on a smaller scale during the period of violence which accompanied the establishment of the new national Governments

Even where there was no violence there was a threatening renewal of parlour anti-Semitism with which anti Bolshevism was now adroitly mingled In England the principal mouthpiece was the *Morning Post* though even *The Times* was not immune at one time from the virus In America Henry Ford and his *Dearborn Independent* (though both subsequently retracted) were backed up by the superlative nonsense of a revived Ku Klux Klan Meanwhile a mid nineteenth century political satire was resuscitated given an anti Jewish turn and circulated in every European language under the engaging title *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*—an egregious production to which we shall have occasion to return

Special conditions applied in Germany A country whose whole pride was in militarism was defeated in the

field, and its defeat was succeeded by an inevitable internal revolution in which some Jews played a share. Such a disaster could not be interpreted in Germany as it could have been in any other country by the simple explanation that Germany was outmatched for it was axiomatic that the Fatherland was undefeatable. *Ex hypothesi* then, it must have been Stabbed in the Back. And by whom? There was only one minority available upon whom the blame could be laid—the same minority which had been made to bear responsibility for disasters in the Middle Ages—the Jews.

Thus the legend was created. Clearly Germany had never been defeated in battle for up to the Armistice barely a single enemy soldier set foot within her western borders save as prisoner. But the armies were undermined by the revolution at home, engineered and exploited by the Jews who (it was alleged) were in control of the Republican Government. And it became all the more easy to blame the Republicans since they were left to clear up the mess and hence were in control when Germany was compelled to sign the “disgraceful” Peace of Versailles for which they were held no less responsible than if they had drawn it up themselves. From this it was an easy transition to allege (i) that the Jews had engineered the war for their own ends and (ii) that what had happened in Germany and Russia was only part of a programme for securing world domination, to which all revolutionary movements from the French Revolution downwards were due and of which the absurd Protocols betrayed the plan.

II

I must turn aside for a moment to explain the nature of this celebrated production.

The ‘Protocols’ purport to be a report of a series of twenty four meetings held in 1897 at Basle by the Wise

Men of Zion, under the leadership of their supreme head. The latter initiated them into the method which they were to use in conjunction with the Freemasons in order to incite the Christians against one another to undo them politically economically and morally, and to erect on the ruins the World State in which Jews (and of course, Freemasons) should be supreme. The expedients included an ample use of liquor to befuddle the leaders of European opinion the corruption of European womanhood, the organization of economic crises and the provision of underground railways to blow up the various European capitals. A symbolical serpent (whose use was not clearly specified) also came into the picture. Similar methods we are informed had been employed by the Jews with conspicuous success on previous occasions of world unrest from the days of Pericles down to the French Revolution.

This farrago of nonsense first became current at the close of the war when the "Protocols" were translated from Russian to German French English and half the remaining languages of the Western world. In that excited atmosphere when persons still believed that the Germans used the corpses of their fallen for chemical purposes some persons even in England were prepared to give credence to even so obvious an absurdity. In particular the *Morning Post*—then at the height of die-hardism—believed implicitly in it and took it as documentary evidence of the conspiracy of the Jews against the Western world. The Jews it must be admitted, were taken aback. The compilation was so obviously fantastic and as difficult to disprove as Jack and the Beanstalk or something else equally inconsequential.

At this stage *The Times* Constantinople correspondent Philip Graves was given an anonymous French book published in 1864 entitled *Dialogues aux enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu*. This was a contemporary satire by a certain Maurice Joly on Napoleon III and what

turn the young Czar against his favourite French clairvoyant, Philippe (who was believed to be a Freemason), and to strengthen his objection to any sort of reform Rachkovsky happened to be at this time attached to the Embassy in Paris, and taking it for granted that no one in Russia was particularly well informed about the French political satires of the Third Empire he took as his model Joly's *Dialogues*. In 1901 he presented the document required. A copy of this came into the hands of a certain Sergei Nilus a mystical fanatic who was married to Ozerova the favourite lady in waiting of the Czarina's sister Elizabeth and who was to take Holy Orders and to become the Czar's confessor. Failing in that intention Nilus turned to literary work instead.

In 1901 he published in Moscow a curious production, *The Great in the Little or the Advent of the Anti Christ and the Rule of the Devil on Earth are Near*. A second edition appeared in 1905 and whether acting under instructions or not Nilus made it a little thicker by including in it without substantial change Rachkovsky's plagiaristic memorandum, to which he gave the title *The Prophecies of the Elders of Zion*. There were indeed, one or two inconsistencies in the story for example the meetings of the Elders were now alleged to have taken place in 1902-3 notwithstanding the fact that Nilus specifically stated that he received the text in 1901.

This unimportant discrepancy did not mean much either way for the whole compilation was so absurd that even in the Russia of 1905 no one paid serious attention to it. In the feverish atmosphere of the war however the publication was resuscitated. It was reissued in 1917 by Nilus himself republished subsequently in South Russia in order to further counter revolutionary propaganda and then translated into the various western European languages. Editor after editor made his own alterations additions and amplifications. It was discovered that the first

Zionist Congress had been held in Basle in 1897 and the meetings of the Wise Men were accordingly anticipated by a few years and removed thither. A few names now began to be added to relieve the previous unconvincing anonymity. Another editor thinking that a little rabbinic flavour was desirable, interpolated the opinions of an otherwise unknown Rabbi Khamer, a name presumably foisted on him by some Jewish humorist, as *Khamer* means donkey. Meanwhile Communism being the bugbear of the Western world the Freemasons were deposed from their position as the co conspirators with the Jews and the plot became a Zionist Communist one.

A few other sources were drawn upon to make up bulk. The last six of the Protocols dealing with the economic system envisaged under the plot, are based upon a pamphlet written as an attack upon Count de Witte the Russian Minister. More interesting is the way in which they got their form. A sensational novel purporting to be written in 1868 by one Sir John Retchiffe (an alias of a Prussian postal official degraded for dishonesty named Hermann Goedsche) recounts how the author happening to be in the Jewish cemetery of Prague one autumn night in 1860 overheard the Princes of the Twelve Tribes of Israel discussing plans for world conquest. The material of an imaginary dialogue in hell thus becomes the programme of an executive in a cemetery.

The discovery of the origin of the "Protocols" did not disconcert its supporters. Those of them who went so far as to examine the evidence had a ready reply. Perhaps they were based upon the writings of Maurice Joly but Maurice Joly was clearly a Jew presumably named Moses Joel, who had been shot during the Paris Commune and the work though nominally directed against Napoleon, was in reality intended to achieve recondite Jewish objects. But unfortunately this plea, too fell to the ground, with the discovery that Joly belonged to a strict Catholic family.

and had died peaceably in his bed. The next line of defence was more ingenious. However much the "Protocols" might be a forgery it was said they represented the aims and objects of Jewry so faithfully that they acquired thereby a subjective verity and might be believed in implicitly. And so the scurrilities which would normally be considered too preposterous and too boring to be published as a penny dreadful continued their career. In 1934 they were condemned formally by a court at Grahamstown in South Africa and heavy fines were inflicted on those responsible for circulating a document based on them. In the following year the Cantonal Court of Berne Switzerland, declared after an elaborate inquiry that they were not only forgeries but also plagiaristic, obscene, and ridiculous. And while it is true that the decision was reversed on the ground that the paragraph in the Swiss legal code invoked by the prosecution covered only offences against sexual decency it is also true that the judge stated that he entirely agreed with the previous verdict, even though he had to admit it was not legally sound. Nevertheless in every country of Europe edition after edition pours from the press and anti-Semites gaily indict the Jewish people on account of the plans of world conquest which this feeble effort alleges.

World Conquest! And half the Jews of the world are menaced with disaster and a third of them are on the brink of starvation and there is not even enough solidarity of purpose among Jews to agree on the most elementary measures of self defence! World Conquest! A sorry joke my masters!

III

Hard on the war that was to end war and the peace that ended peace there followed the German economic of 1921 and the devaluation of the mark—the most

colossal fraud in history (as the result of which a good part of the cost of Germany's war was adroitly pushed off on to the shoulders of Jewish optimists of German descent principally in the United States) In consequence there was great suffering in the Fatherland. A large number of the old middle class—including many Jews—were reduced to beggary a large number of new fortunes were made or old ones doubled—in certain cases by Jews. The latter of course figured in the public eye more prominently than the former. Another charge was added that the Jews had engineered the great collapse and alone had profited from it. And certain capitalists resenting the social legislation of the Weimar Republic fearing for their own position and jealous of Jewish competitors found it convenient to fan the flames by supporting the anti Semitic propaganda.

Hence on the conclusion of the war Jew hatred took a new turn in Germany. The anti Semites now found themselves in the same camp with the militarists who were seeking for an excuse for their late defeat with the reactionaries who opposed the Republic and called it a Jewish institution, the *Judenrepublik* with all those who had lost place or influence or money owing to the change of regime and blamed it on to the Jews. And in Adolf Hitler they found a leader not only of remarkable oratorical power but of formidable ability an ability subordinated to no moral force except a devotion to the German idea as he interpreted it.

His interpretation was based on a theory propounded in the previous century weighed in the balance and found wanting by the sane opinion of Europe but destined to acquire a mystical value in his mind. It was the theory of race the conviction of the superiority over all peoples of the so called Aryan—above all the Teuton—and the inferiority of others—particularly the Semite who ranks at the bottom of the h scale at no great

from the anthropoid ape, which thus finds itself in blushing propinquity with Moses and St. Paul Heine and Einstein. It is only a pure race that can triumph over its enemies in the achievements of war or (though these are of minor importance) of peace. Political nationality must therefore be restricted to persons of one racial stock, who must not be allowed to be diluted by any other. Country, nation, people, race—all were identical in his mind. It does not matter that the idea is of exactly the same intellectual order as the contention that the earth is flat, that there is no such thing today, perhaps not even in the last enclaves of Polynesia, as a pure race, that not even the Zulus are admitted to be a pure race, despite their extermination of all who transgress against the puristic taboo that the term Aryan is a linguistic not an ethnographical distinction, that the educated world in its attempt to present to itself the perfect Nordic of the Nazi theorizings derisively constructs a creature as blond as Hitler, as slim as Goering, as tall as Goebbels."

all these things have not mattered to Adolf Hitler. His pathological hatred of Jews has spread like a miasma until it has enveloped not only the hundreds of thousands of his pure Jews but the millions of half Jews and quarter Jews who droop and die in the pestilence to the world's far borders.

The Jewish Problem, as might be expected, occupied an important place in the famous Twenty-five Points, the official programme of the Nazi party adopted at a meeting at the Hofbräuhaus at Munich on February 20th, 1920. Three of the twenty-five—12 per cent of the whole. They were as follows:

(4) Only a member of the nation can be a citizen. Only one who is of German blood, irrespective of religion, can be a member of the nation. No Jew can therefore be a member of the nation.

(5) Whoever is not a citizen may live in Germany only as a guest, and must be subject to alien legislation

(6) The right of voting on the State's government and laws may be enjoyed only by the citizen. We demand, therefore, that all official appointments of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, the State or community may be entrusted only to citizens

IV

A campaign then began for discrediting the Weimar Republic and all its institutions by alleging that they were completely controlled by the Jews. That as it happened, was a complete falsehood. It was true that a Jew Hugo Preuss was largely responsible for drawing up the Constitution for the German Republic. But another Jew Friedenthal had collaborated in formulating the Imperial Constitution which it displaced, and the one was just as much or as little Jewish as the other. It was true that the removal of the barrier on the Jews in the Civil Service and in the universities, which had been in practice under the Imperial régime naturally resulted in the promotion of a number of Jews and in a corresponding degree of jealousy on the part of their rivals. But though the proportions became greater they remained comparatively modest.

In the higher branches of the Civil Service out of some 22,500 Government employees the Jews numbered 371 only or a little more than 1.5 per cent. School teachers numbered 0.84 per cent or rather less than 1 in 100—roughly proportional to the total Jewish population. (This figure was exaggerated by anti-Semitic propagandists with a cheerful disregard of the position of the dot, worthy of Lord Randolph Churchill himself, to .84 per

descent P euss Rathenau, Landsberg, Schiffer Gradnauer Hilferding and Dernburg (who was however only half Jewish) In the German Federal States matters were much the same neither Prussia nor Bavaria the largest of all had a single minister of Jewish birth or of traceable Jewish descent. In the Reichstag of 1930 there was only a single professing Jew and among the 143 Socialist members Jewish blood could be traced in less than 10 per cent

In intellectual life it is true, things were different In this there was no social prejudice to overcome no patronage to be secured and no caste system to take into account Hence the Jews had the opportunity of self expression In those branches of culture through which Germany had made her name abroad other than military science they certainly played a share out of all proportion to their numbers and it might have been thought that this was not to their discredit It was Jews who made German medicine great, who created the famous German dyestuff industry who made German literature known who developed the tradition of German art criticism, who opened Germany to modern currents in art, who interpreted and made available to the world the wonders of German music who gave the Berlin theatre that international significance that it enjoyed in the great period which ended in 1933 And why not, you might ask providing that they did their jobs decently and well?

Since up to 1919 no professions other than law (excluding the higher judiciary) and medicine were open to German Jews and perhaps because the Jew has an inborn urge to the call of justice and to the relief of suffering—there were Jewish barristers and physicians in Germany (though this applied in particular to Berlin) well in excess of their numerical proportions though in neither case did they even remotely approach complete control of the profession According to official statistics, in 1933 Jews

numbered 16.25 per cent of the lawyers 10.88 per cent of the physicians—a large but far from an overwhelming proportion. And the fact that they were able to make a living indicates their competence for these are both callings in which there is free competition. It is as absurd and as meaningless to talk about Jewish Medicine as it would be to declaim against Methodist Engineering. And it is a pretty thought that even since the Glorious Revolution of 1933 not a few Nazi leaders have made use of Jewish doctors and that the daughter of the present German Foreign Minister has twice been under the care of a Jewish specialist in Holland.

It happens that Germany is the only country of western Europe (except for Italy) where the Jewish population is what may be termed autochthonous—that is established in the country from time almost immemorial indeed as I recalled earlier there is documentary evidence to shew their presence in the Rhineland early in the fourth century before the ancestors of many of the present Germans themselves arrived there. Hence there was nothing foreign in the German Jew which might be calculated to stimulate vulgar xenophobia and jealousy of the stranger. If there were not sufficient foreign Jews to stimulate mob hatred they must be invented. Accordingly the German people was led to believe that the country was being governed and exploited by a vast influx of alien Hebrews who had poured over the eastern frontier under the Weimar Republic. Inquirers from overseas were informed that many hundreds of thousands of Jews came into Germany from Poland after the war. In fact, the number of Jews in Germany has never exceeded 615,000 in all (1910)—a figure which by 1933 had fallen by nearly 100,000. This included only 76,000 eastern European Jews, most of whom had either been drafted into the country by the military authorities during the war to do work of national importance or were "White" R

refugees from Bolshevism who might therefore have anticipated a particularly cordial welcome. These recent immigrants moreover played no part in German public life. Those German Jews who made their names known are as much German in their historical background as any of their compatriots without exception. But it did not matter. The lie was set in circulation and by dint of frequent repetition it received universal credence. As Adolf Hitler the great master of anti-Semitic propaganda has written in his classical work *My Struggle* (original German edition p 252)—

The very enormity of a lie contributes to its success

The masses of the people easily succumb to it as they cannot believe it possible that anyone should have the shameless audacity to invent such things. Even if the clearest proof of its falsehood is forthcoming some thing of the lie will nevertheless stick

THE NAZI HORROR

I

I DO not propose to make here any attempt to trace the causes or the history of Hitler's rise to power that has been done admirably in Edgar's Mowrer's *Germany Puts the Clock Back*. I wish to call attention only to the fact that, though the Fuehrer's anti-Semitic programme furnished the National Socialist party in the first instance with a nucleus and a rallying cry it was swept into office by two things with which the 'Jewish Problem' did not have the slightest connexion. On the one side was economic distress and the revulsion against Versailles on the other chicanery and intrigue. Hence after the events of 1933 German Jewry had hopes that the National Socialist party would be sobered by the responsibilities of office, and would be content with restoring the few restrictions—such as exclusion from the Civil Service and from university chairs—which had prevailed before 1914.

Certain factors made this impossible. In the first place there was expediency. Hitler and his party had promised the unhappy Germans a new heaven and a new earth coupled with the persecution of the Jews. Unfortunately a new heaven and earth cannot be manufactured to order. But a persecution of the Jews can and it can be depicted as though it were a victory against overwhelming forces no less glorious than another Sedan or Leipzig. Hence one of the first measures of the new regime was to begin to thrust Jews from their appointments and to destroy their social, political, and economic position. Incidentally every Jew who was dismissed made a vacancy for some

hungry Nazi and so far as that individual was concerned the promised millennium punctually arrived. Later on it was noted that every setback to German intrigue abroad was succeeded by a new drive against the Jews at home. Even in normal circumstances such a policy can provide a useful vent for potential popular discontent. In a country where every mode of expression is controlled by the State it constituted an ideal method of converting defeat into victory.

Secondly there was the inexcusable silence of the conscience of Europe—dulled by bombing and warfare all over the world, anxious lest any angry word or the slightest deterioration of international feeling might topple mankind into the abyss fearing to endanger a régime which it considered to be a bulwark of the existing Capitalist system against Communism. It is a depressing consideration that whereas there were great public protests in England and America fifty years before at the time of the Russian outrages and a hundred years before at the time of the persecutions in Syria and whereas as long ago as 1744–5 the Governments of England and Holland and Denmark successfully protested against the maltreatment of the Jews by the Empress Maria Theresa, from 1933 onwards no more redoubtable official voice was heard than the timorous murmurings of a few religious bodies.

II

And so began in March, 1933 the Cold Pogrom—one of the most astonishing episodes in the whole history of persecution. It was something like a competitive examination, in which the successful competitors, instead of being given the appointments, were thrown out. The Nazi appetite increased as it fed. After the initial period, there was no longer any question of reducing the participation of Jews in national life to a strictly proportionate

level. It became the declared object of the Government to eliminate the Jews from German national life—completely if necessary savagely. But there was a curious corollary which throws some light on the psychology of those responsible. No attention whatsoever was paid to the loss of genius or spiritual values or intellectual gifts. These if they had any suspicion of Jewish origin were dispensed with gladly. But tangible assets could not be spared so easily. It was hence not only a question of casting the Jew forth—he had to be cast forth naked.

There is no room in this book to go into a detailed account of the persecution. It would take too long. It would be too harrowing. And it would be superfluous for it is enough to turn to the columns of the English newspapers day by day—even those newspapers which in general principle turn a blind eye to the failings of dictators everywhere—to obtain the most up-to-date details. All I propose to do in the short space which can be allotted to the subject here is to give an outline of one or two aspects of the persecution which may disabuse those in this country who suspect that all Hitler has done has been to dismiss a few superfluous Jewish lawyers and bankers.

It is claimed that there was never in history so bloodless a revolution as that of 1933. Since the enemy in this great triumph was a defenceless minority of some 500 000 out of a total of some 60 000 000 souls this is not to be wondered at. Yet, in those early months, hundreds of persons were done to death or “shot while trying to escape” for no reason (in most cases) other than that they were Jews or Liberals or had enemies. There have been other victims, though for whose death Herr Hitler is as surely responsible as he is for the victims of the Blood Bath of June 1934—honourable men and women deprived of their position and their livelihood and their on and their hope who have died at

their own hands rather than face the unutterable blankness of the future. No one perhaps will ever know the number of suicides of German Jews after 1933. They run into many thousands, from children not yet in their teens to elderly men and women overtaken by this nameless horror at the close of their lives. It is not unfitting that Shakespeare should have put in Shylock's mouth the cry of their present anguish: "You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live." Life for the German Jew has become an agony; it is becoming in the exact sense unlivable.

I am intentionally omitting any account of the horrors of the concentration camps which loom menacingly in the foreground of the life of any person of liberal opinions and independent judgment—not only of the Jews. But it must be pointed out that a menace which is contingent in the case of other sections of the population is ever present in the case of those of Jewish descent. To be a Jewish leader is dangerous. To maintain in the pulpit or in print that Jews are not sub-humans, as the Fuehrer constantly alleges, is suicidal. Extra-legal beating up has indeed been in abeyance in Germany proper since the early days (though in 1938 it became familiar in Austria). But protective custody which requires no process of law is still a reality, and the man who is taken off suddenly from his home under this pretext does not know if he will ever see it again.

Visitors to Berlin are shewn Jewish shops still open, as a proof of Nazi tolerance. They are not informed however that there is a constant official propaganda to prevent non-Jews from patronizing Jewish firms, that marriage bonuses and moneys received from the Government must not be spent in them, that the windows are periodically damaged or defaced, that they are sometimes picketed by SS men, who prevent shoppers from
that in many compulsion is brought to

bear on the proprietors to dispose of them at a fraction of their value that large numbers—including some of world wide reputation—have passed into non Jewish hands during the past few years. Hence they are compelled to rely on a handful of Jewish patrons and a decreasing number of courageous Aryans who refuse to be kept away by threats and blackmail. Jewish physicians and (in greatly decreased number) lawyers were till recently permitted to function though every attempt was made to intimidate their clientele. In July 1938 even these were eliminated.

Apart from the organized boycott of all Jewish professional and economic activities occupation after occupation has declared itself or has been declared, closed to them—the stock exchange the antique trade the book trade and a host of others—I quote at random. By October 30th, 1938 the Nazi trade organization has proudly stated all Jews will be eliminated from the German textile business. Other branches of industry are hastening the elimination of the Jews by cancelling their contracts by refusing to sell to them, and similar measures. In 1936 the authorities in Pomerania issued instructions forbidding Germans to sell food to Jews. Even the traditional old-clothes dealing is now barred on July 13th 1936 *Der Angriff* announced that the authorities would not renew the licences of Jewish rag dealers and rag pickers because Jews were not sufficiently reliable." Two years later on July 9th, 1938 while these pages were being written it was officially announced from Berlin that fresh measures had been officially adopted excluding the Jews from a number of fresh trades and professions including real estate the administration of property agencies for mortgage contracts and loans inquiry bureaux guides for foreign tourists (this perhaps is not altogether incomprehensible) peddling, rag-dealing, agencies for and mar

rage broking (except where the parties concerned are Jews) As Caspar remarked it was a famous victory

In a score of details the system of the Middle Ages has been restored *Der Stuermer* the organ of Julius Streicher the Nazi "boss" of Nuremberg and one of Hitler's favourites (who obtains added attention for his anti-Semitic propaganda by blending with it the most revolting pornographic details) has revived every conceivable mediæval charge save (for an obvious reason—he is not interested in any brand of Christianity) that of the Desecration of the Host In particular it has on more than one occasion devoted an entire issue to the infamous Blood Accusation, the Jews as a collectivity being accused of perpetrating in the past, and of awaiting only the opportunity to repeat in the present, the systematic ritual murder of non-Jewish children for religious purposes This in itself would be serious enough But seeing that *Der Stuermer* enjoys a quasi-official status is read to children in the schools and is displayed in show cases all over the country (sometimes affixed to the walls of synagogues—a typical exacerbation of insult) it has far more effect especially on the young and prurient mind, than any ordinary newspaper campaign (I might add that the ritual murder issue has been carefully translated into several foreign languages including Danish, Turkish, and Arabic)

Town after town reverting to the precedent of the Middle Ages has rid itself of the Jews and boasts on sign boards at the entrance that it is *Judenrein* Jews are no longer admitted to the public baths—just as in the Middle Ages They are excluded from many spas and watering places In the public parks separate yellow-painted seats are assigned to them and they may occupy no others It is a sufficient pretext for cancelling a lease if a man finds that the tenant of a neighbouring flat is a Jew In Frankfort, the Nazi Corpo for the Pro-

tection of Tenants has recently informed Aryans that they must not live in houses owned by Jews and that all Jews must gradually be moved back to the district which formerly constituted the Jewish quarter. The Ghetto in fact is only just round the corner.

Intermarriage between Jews and non Jews is now forbidden by law and an elaborate code has been drawn up indicating the precise degrees within which persons of partly Jewish blood may now find themselves partners in wedlock. Extra marital intercourse between Jew and non Jew or half Jew and non Jew is now a penal offence, savagely punished. Even an intimacy which is no more than friendly between Jew and non Jew (especially when they are of opposite sexes) is disapproved of and may lead the one partner to public shaming and the other to a concentration camp. The fact that husband or wife is a non Aryan is regarded by the law courts as a sufficient pretext for the dissolution of a marriage which may have been in existence for twenty years or the fact that a mother is of partly Jewish blood is enough for her to be deprived of the custody of her own children whilst economic pressure is exercised to compel a husband or wife to divorce a loving and beloved wife or husband. Most significant—cases are known where the child of a mixed marriage has legally vindicated his right to enter decent society by producing evidence to the effect that his Aryan mother had deceived her Jewish husband before his birth!

No book written by a Jew can now be published in Germany save by a Ghetto publisher who is not permitted to sell to non Jews. No work by a Jewish writer or poet is now included in any anthology of German literature or may be used in schools or universities—unless like Heine's *Lorelei* it has already entered too deep into the people's consciousness in which case it is now ascribed to an anonymous writer. No painting

by a Jewish artist may be exhibited in any German gallery except at the official Exhibition of Degenerate Art. No music by a Jewish composer may be publicly played by Aryans. For instance Mendelssohn's music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is barred and an Aryan substitute has been found. (His very name is now eliminated from the very streets it once graced.) It is not recorded however whether Da Ponte's libretto to Mozart's *Don Giovanni* is still used. Vice versa no Jew may play even to a Jewish gathering any music by an Aryan composer, a public gathering being defined as an assemblage of ten persons or more. So if a music loving Jew has a family of eight or nine he may entertain them with Wagner but if a tenth person enters the room he must change over to Mahler or Meyerbeer.

It is axiomatic with the Nazi that the Jews engineered the war and did not participate in it. (Why did we lose the war? a Gauleiter is reported to have asked a class of schoolchildren. Because of the Jews replied one intelligent urchin. Quite right and what Jews?")

The Jewish generals. But, you silly child we did not have any Jewish generals! I know s.r but the other side did.") That according to the official statistics one hundred thousand German Jews fought, that many were decorated, and that twelve thousand fell on the field of honour does not affect the official thesis which has to be maintained at all costs. Hence Jewish names are no longer to appear on the war memorials throughout the country so as to rid posterity of the perplexities of contradictory evidence and by one of the meanest actions of all, the Jews who lost their sight in the war are now deprived of those privileges which the other war blind enjoy.

One of the stock charges against the Jew is that he is a middle man, not a producer. If this is true it is

In the recent war scare Jews were excluded from the comprehensive distribution of gas-masks.

misfortune rather than a sin but some Jews were painfully aware of it and had taken steps to reverse the position (we will have to go into this point elsewhere for it is of considerable significance) In Pomerania for example and elsewhere in Germany there were one or two Jewish farm schools and agricultural colonies and scattered about the country there were to be found Jewish farmers some of whom had been tilling the soil for generations Here one might imagine was the one Jewish type which even the Nazis would tolerate and encourage But no It is axiomatic that no one who is not a member of the German race must own the German soil Hence one of the first measures taken by the new régime was to expropriate these Jewish yeomen and send them back to swell the mass of dispossessed Jewish middle-men in the cities

In 1938 two more horrors have been added to the record All non Aryans have had to declare to the Government all property of any description (not excepting house furniture and personal effects) above a total value of £400 The penalty for evasion or deception is fantastic. It is clear that this measure is expected to prevent effectively the clandestine transportation beyond the frontiers of any perceptible proportion of the property of those German Jews whose departure is wished for so longingly The ultimate object is to transfer all this property compulsorily into stocks in the Government steel and armament concerns which would thus be financed at the expense of the victims of the régime But the owners would not be allowed to continue their ownership if they went abroad and hence on emigration would have to dispose of their shares on whatever terms were dictated to them A second regulation empowers the authorities to conscribe all German subjects (the word has apparently been chosen carefully to include the Jews who are subjects but not citizens) into labour contingents at a fixed standard of wage It

probable that this is directed in particular at the Jews who would thus be used to make good the deficiencies in the labour market and keep down rates of pay. One has always wondered how Pharaoh could have enslaved six hundred thousand Hebrews in Egypt of old. This recent measure provides a detailed answer.

III

The persecution though theoretically directed against the Jewish race by no means ignores the Jewish religion. It is true that synagogues are open and in some cases (where the population has not dwindled too much) are more thronged with worshippers than in former years. The fact is pointed out to visitors who come home and write letters to the Press asserting that the persecution of the Jews in Germany is a myth. They do not realize that praying is one of the very few activities that German Jewry has left. But this freedom too is a qualified one. Jewish synagogues and cemeteries all over Germany are still desecrated and defiled periodically though not so much as they were, before persecution was organized in more subtle channels. In Vienna after the Anschluss the Great Synagogue was occupied by the SS and the ritual appurtenances systematically defiled. Pious Jews of the old type were compelled to clean out w.c.s with their praying shawls and phylacteries—an outrage much like compelling Catholics to perform the same service with altar-cloths and crucifixes. More recently the Jewish community of Munich was given twenty four hours notice to vacate the principal synagogue which was to be demolished to make room for a parking area. The building was erected at a cost of 1 200 000 marks the compensation offered (and proudly refused) was of 100 000 marks. (Much the same happened at approximately the same time at Nuremberg, on the pretext that the Eastern architectural style

offends the Fuehrer's eye') The confiscation of synagogues is not of course new in Jewish history. It was a commonplace throughout the Middle Ages for them to be seized and converted into churches. But conversion into a car park is another matter. It robs persecution of any last semblance of dignity.

Most harrowing of all is the treatment of the children. An adult can at least understand the reason for his mal-treatment, even though it may be due to circumstances of descent over which he had no control. A child is neither responsible nor able to understand. Nevertheless if it has Jewish blood, the unfortunate mite is made to feel all the force of racial policy backed up with all the might of the German State and mitigated by no feeling of natural compassion. Official instructions have been circulated that Jewish children must be constantly made to be conscious of their position. At school the non Aryan child may not sit by the side of Aryans: he is made to sit on a separate Ghetto bench, at the back of the room and treated with deliberate neglect. No that is wrong. The time comes for the lesson in Racial Science now become the most important subject of all. A carefully chosen little Jacob or Rebecca (the names until recently might have been Fritz or Gretchen) is called up to the teacher's desk and used as an object lesson. The schoolchildren are shown how the Jew's hair is fuzzy and the Jew's complexion sallow and the Jew's nose curved, and how these characteristics are symptomatic of a debased type and a low morality. The break comes, and with it the distribution of a glass of milk to every pupil. The Jewish child has to line up with the rest. When his turn comes the teacher looks at him coldly. "There is no milk for a Jewish child," she says. And next day the bright performance is repeated.

When the children leave school, no one will play with the little Jew. As likely as not, they are looking as they

leave at the notorious picture-book produced by a Nazi teacher shewing the Jewish type and all its delinquencies and crimes in horrible caricature. Children can be the worst persecutors and it is not to be wondered at if primed from above, they carry out with harrowing efficiency the lesson which is driven so sedulously into their heads.

It was not long after the beginning of the Hitler regime that a little Jewish girl came home from school crying. Why was it she asked her mother that her life had become so miserable that her former friends with whom she had played so happily until a short time before now would have nothing to do with her except to torment her? The mother could not explain and the child went up to her bedroom. A moment or so afterwards there was a scream, as the child came hurtling to the ground. She was picked up dead—a suicide of six.

This sort of thing is still going on in smaller places though in many instances the Jews are withdrawing their children from school rather than force them to submit to this perpetual martyrdom. (Here is a first class opportunity for creating another anti Semitic charge—that the Jews evade the education laws.) In larger cities where numbers warrant it, the Jews are elaborating or developing their own educational system. In accordance with Nazi ideology it might be imagined that this would receive every encouragement from the Government. It does indeed in words. But greed is more imperative than ideology and one after the other Jewish children's homes have been confiscated.

IV

The Rape of Austria in March 1938 begot with a minimum of gestation a particularly hideous brood of atrocities. The martyrdom of German Jewry had been a gradual one. There was time for them to adjust them-

selves to some extent, to the new conditions. The more far sighted were able to escape from the country at the very outset with a certain modicum of their possessions while there were still some places of refuge open to receive them. But in Austria the terror came overnight. In a few hours the light hearted Viennese Jews—as different from those of Germany as their city was from Berlin—had to prepare themselves to face the conditions to which German Jewry had been reduced in the slow course of five years.

On March 26th Field Marshal Goering opened the plebiscite campaign in the hall of the former North West Railway station, in the heart of Vienna's Jewish quarter. "All Jews must leave Austria," he proclaimed. "Vienna no longer has the right to call itself a German city because there are more than 300 000 Jews living there." (Actually the figure is well below 200 000). "Jews are in control of trade finance art everything. But I am going to alter that. We don't like Jews and they don't like us. We will make them glad to go away."

Even before this—indeed within half an hour of Schuschnigg's farewell radio speech—the terror had begun. Jews were arrested by the hundred and thrown into concentration camps. Jewish shops were plundered. Jews were stopped in the streets and forced to perform the most menial tasks. Rabbis were forced to picket Jewish stores. Jewish women, advanced in pregnancy were compelled to scrub out the Schuschnigg crosses on the pavements. All Jewish passports were confiscated to prevent premature escape. Only on one occasion were the tables turned—when a Jewish General summoned to come out on a sanitary cleaning squad, insisted on dressing himself first of all in full dress uniform.

One measure enforced in Austria—unparalleled hitherto in pre Anschluss Germany—has forbidden all shops Jewish or non Jewish, to keep Jews in their employment.

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All Jewish employees that is are to be dismissed immediately It is one of the more sardonic measures of the new regime in view of the fact that a stock accusation against the Jew is that he is dissatisfied to remain a subordinate now he is forbidden to remain one

Dismissed from their employment, their incomes cut off, their property in some cases confiscated their former friends and neighbours turned against them emigration almost impossible many Austrian Jews have seen only one way of escape In April the daily roll of Jewish suicides rose as high as 130 In a single day last July 800 are said to have taken place The gross total in the first four months was not less than 7 000 The holocaust of July was perhaps a premeditated gesture, like the self immolation of the Jews during some of the mediæval persecutions and was intended to attract the attention of the world to their plight But the ears of the world were deaf (Public opinion is not so squeamish as it was) The local authorities looked on cynically or rather approvingly Dr Goebbels speaking in Vienna on March 22nd did not try to conceal the fact that the number of suicides in Vienna had increased they could not set a policeman to watch every Jew he blandly added, to stop him

Notwithstanding this anxiety to rid the country of the presence of the Jews all conceivable difficulties were placed in the way of their emigration so as to ensure that they should be fleeced before they fled Only one frontier was not barred—the glacier wall of the Alps on which the German troops picked off fugitives with their rifles as though they were hunting chamois

Worst of all was the fate of the Jewish community of the Burgenland on the border between Austria and Hungary after the Anschluss For some reason—either because this is a frontier area or through the zeal of some local leader—it was determined to make a clean sweep of the Jews from the entire province Burgenland is a

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charming verdant country of green hills and vineyards with several little towns such as Eisenstadt in which the Jews have lived from time immemorial. The Jewish population was about 5 000 souls engaged in all manner of occupations not excluding agriculture. Immediately after the Anschluss all were rounded up and forced to sign a declaration that they would leave the country within a month. Without waiting for the expiry of this period of grace a large proportion were literally thrown over the frontiers. But the neighbouring countries could not risk the dangerous precedent of opening their gates. Fifty one were put on a breakwater in the Danube near the Czechoslovakian border without food or money (the Storm Troopers had relieved them of these unnecessary trifles). Czechs rescued them and provided them with temporary shelter and food but they could not venture to let them have permanent hospitality and so deported them to Hungary who in turn sent some back to Austria. Others were shipped on a barge and were afloat for weeks on the Danube, a human flotsam and jetsam until at last they were allowed to anchor outside a Hungarian river port¹ (The Middle Ages were kinder when Viennese Jews placed on the Danube in oarless boats at a time of persecution were at least suffered to disembark when at last they drifted ashore).

Another batch of Austrian Jews—some 56 men and women—were arrested and deprived of their property after which they were forced to sign papers renouncing their German nationality. They were then taken in charge by the S S men, who made successive attempts to thrust them across the Belgian, the Luxemburg, and finally the French frontiers. By this time several were exhausted, and one a woman was so ill that she had to be admitted

¹ The news is just to hand that these wretched creatures have at last been allowed asylum in a. The fact is not without symbolic signifi

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to hospital. On instructions from Paris the others were taken back to the German frontier on the ground that Germany could not be allowed to create a precedent for expelling her own subjects on to foreign soil in defiance of international law. The German frontier guards tried to stop them from returning maintaining they had left voluntarily and were no longer German subjects. In the end, they were lodged in barracks on the German side of the frontier—over fifty men and women who a few months before had been happy householders. Their ultimate fate is unknown (*The Times* May 26th 1938). On another occasion a Jewish Children's Home near the frontier was raided the staff arrested, and the inmates thrown out. Some of them swam across the Danube into Czechoslovakia but the frontier guards had no authority to admit them and thrust them back into the water. Did they drown? Perhaps it was happier for them if they did.

V

It is fundamentally wrong to imagine that the victims of the anti-Semitic persecution in Germany (and now Austria) are restricted to what we would in England term 'Jews'. It extends to persons in whose veins a single particle of Jewish blood is to be discovered for four generations in all. That is if one of a man's eight great grandparents was a Jew the great-grandchild may be dismissed from his employment and hounded out of public life if one of his four grandparents was one he is to be treated as a Jew in all things. Hence persons who were born and brought up Christians whose associations and associates have been Christian, and who have perhaps had no inkling until recently that they were of Jewish descent are suddenly faced with utter ruin.

This is no insignificant body. It is calculated that the half Jews number 600 000—approximately as many

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as the Jews themselves while the part Jews, who are not subjected to a persecution quite so extreme are estimated to number 2 000 000

The lot of this element is perhaps the most tragic of all On the hard taxed Jewish community they clearly have no claim though in fact it is mainly from Jewish sources that they receive what little assistance they have had (I should like in this place to acknowledge the touching generosity of another International—the Quakers) Their own Christian correligionists are for the most part tongue-tied in Germany and purse tied outside Christian Englishmen should at least have compassion on these who gave up the comforts of their fathers faith on the understanding that they would be received wholeheartedly into the Christian community and who have found themselves so pitifully deceived

VI

There is no need for me to go into any further details of the persecution German Jewry it is true is being martyred But there is a sense in which it is the German people as a whole that is to be the more pitied for in the long run persecution must harm its perpetrators more than it does its victims The next few years—perhaps the next few generations—can hardly fail of being among the most tragic that the Jewish people has ever experienced since its national being was destroyed by Titus But, in the long run the sun of righteousness must shine again It is for themselves, not for their victims that the Nazis are heaping up a lasting store of dishonour a penury of mind and soul which will not be redressed for it may be centuries

This does not however lessen the problem of the moment G Jewry is broken but where are the
answ to go? A new creed, with which the very exist

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ence of persons of Jewish blood is incompatible has been let loose in central Europe. Where will that flood be stemmed? These are two fundamental questions which convert the problem of the Jew in Germany into one for the whole world

CORRIGENDUM

The above lines were written before the events which followed the shooting by a grief crazed seventeen year-old Polish Jewish boy of an official of the German Embassy in Paris. After a night of terror organized by a State department in the Wilhelmstrasse such a night as has no parallel in the history of civilized peoples, certain official reprisals against the German Jews were promulgated by the German Government, on the ground that these 600 000 Jews were collaborators in the Paris shooting. I will not hasten to transcribe here what the reaction of the rest of the world has been to these occurrences. I wish merely to make a simple correction in this text. It is stated on page 125 that the German synagogues are still open. This is no longer true of course. As part of the reprisals nearly all the synagogues in Germany were set ablaze in a brilliantly organized act of spontaneous arson. It is not only the fabric of the Jewish synagogues which has been destroyed in that bonfire. What was destroyed of German decency of German honour will not be easily built up again.

ANTI SEMITISM FOR EXPORT

I

THE fate of these hosts of Jews and non Jews in Greater Germany is tragic enough. But a further consequence of the Nazi victory has been the tragic deterioration of the position of Jewry throughout wide areas beyond its borders. That is the most alarming feature in the whole situation. There are some who fear that the Jews are on the brink of a new age of persecution dependent this time not on religion but on race which may last longer and be even more harrowing than that which their fathers underwent in the Middle Ages. Perhaps they under-estimate the force of the violent reaction which the baseness and inherent fatuity of Nazi theory and practice have aroused among all men and communities of goodwill. But the situation is anxious in the extreme.

This new development beyond the German borders is to some extent an automatic reaction. A sympathy with the legitimate post war grievances of Germany largely induced by the labours of Jewish publicists in Germany and elsewhere has created a certain tolerance a pity-the-bottom dog attitude on the part of amiable people everywhere who fail to realize that the new Nazi Germany is the antithesis in every conceivable respect to that gallant, doomed Germany for which their respect and affection were solicited.

It is people of that sort who have said to themselves vaguely that a highly cultured people like the Germans would not embark on a ferocious anti-Semitic policy

unless they had some cause. They fail to realize that that policy was not a policy of the Germans but of a political party which used all the known and a great many till then unknown methods of intimidation and chicanery to possess themselves of the reins of power.

It is in any case impossible for a theory however fantastic to permeate the entire thought and literature of one country without its neighbours being affected and a certain vocabulary cannot be constantly used without its implications being in part accepted. Even the newspaper dispatches from abroad when they constantly revert to a single underlying motif, must in the long run have some effect on the minds of even the least prejudiced reader. And so insensibly the Racial Idea has obtained an increasing foothold outside Germany—even in the Anglo-Saxon countries. It does not matter that it is scientifically untenable and that it is contrary to history no less than to anthropology. It does not matter that in its ultimate implications it erects a hierarchy of peoples in which though the Jews may be at the bottom only the Germans (with possibly their Scandinavian neighbours) are at the top. It does not matter to the Italians that in *Mein Kampf* the Italians are contemptuously mentioned not only as non Aryan and Mediterranean but as negroid. It does not matter that the great democracies of the West—England and France and the United States—are automatically (though this is not at present insisted on) put on a low plane because of the immediate mixed origin of their peoples. In spite of all this the racial theory has managed to worm its way into the mentality and the vocabulary of the ordinary Englishman. If here in England, one studies newspaper articles and the speeches of public men and even conversation in the street one realizes how common references are becoming to that non-existent thing 'the English race' with its mute but dangerous corollary.

This same infection has spread the delusion that, for instance, a "problem" is constituted by the fact that 10 per cent. of the dentists in some specific city belong to a religious minority constituting only 5 per cent. of the general population in that city. A few years ago one would hear that the Jews "built" up the clothing industry in say Leeds. Today one is told that they "control" it. It is only a change in vocabulary but it is symptomatic of a change in attitude which all enemies of the Nazi wickedness must guard against.

But the position of the Jews throughout the world is being menaced today by something more serious and more deliberate than this inevitable permeation of ideas dangerous though it is. A premeditated attempt is being made by Germany at uncountable expense to spread the virus of Jew hatred throughout the world. Anti-Semitism has become in fact, a commodity for export.

II

There are by now numbers of fanatics in Germany who are genuinely persuaded that they have discovered in their racial theory the key to the progress and happiness of humanity with its not wholly logical corollary that a modicum of Jewish blood is sufficient to convert any person into an enemy of society. They did not go quite so far at first, in their anxiety to justify the policy of the new Germany before the world. At the beginning, this was done by suggesting that the German Jews were inferior to those of other countries that English Jews might conceivably pass muster but that their correligionists on the other side of the North Sea were inferior specimens who left their neighbours no alternative but to act as the Germans proceeded to act. Unfortunately the sweeping success of the anti-Semitic campaign in Germany produced a universal wave of horror elsewhere and,

naturally Jews throughout the world demonstrated their sympathy with their persecuted brethren. This induced German apologists a little surprised at such sensitiveness to change their ground and they began a campaign in which they attempted to justify domestic persecution by inducing foreign peoples to follow the German lead

From the point of view of general policy it was held that this could only have beneficial results. It was a useful side-track. The philosophy of National Socialism is not for everyone to understand but Kick the Jew is a universal language to be comprehended by even the most elementary intellect. Convince the English people for instance of the righteousness of the anti-Semitic campaign and German policy as a whole, with its violence and its defiance of international law would be whitewashed. Prove that the Jews are a menace to Europe and Englishmen will be more inclined to reinstate Germany in her colonial empire and to condone her Continental forays. Once the racial ideal is implanted, an important stage will have been gained in the construction of an international front sympathetic to Germany and perhaps in the end governed by a similar system.

Hence during the past five years anti-Semitic propaganda has been carried on by Germany at vast expense throughout the world, as an integral—or rather fundamental—part of its somewhat elephantine publicity campaign. At the beginning Hitler was careful to declare (like Mussolini some time previously) that Nazism was not for export. But the official attitude has now changed. Herr Hitler's own organ the *Voelkischer Beobachter* significantly declared, in its issue of May 24th 1934

'The influence of the Nazi party in foreign countries extends literally round the whole globe. My sphere is the world might aptly be placed over our headquarters in Hamburg. This foreign organization comprises

today more than 350 national units and fulcrum points of the Nazi party everywhere. The Nazi party will yet further develop an effort to transplant to all foreign countries the objectives of the National Socialist Reich'

Goebbels himself has more than once declared more succinctly. As we used to cry 'Germany awake!' we now cry 'Europe awake!' And to that cry the implicit conclusion is the sinister *Juda verrecke!* — Perish Judah!

The truth of what has just been said can be verified without difficulty from official and semi-official German sources. Again and again business men in this country find in their correspondence or goods dispatched from Germany pamphlets containing English translations of speeches by the most prominent Nazi leaders. These in variably (and sometimes exclusively) comprise attacks on the Jews who are represented as responsible for all war and alarms of war for all economic troubles and for every form of unrest. (It goes without saying that similar publicity is sent to other countries.) These publications are obtained from various official and semi official bodies. One Nazi propaganda organization alone the Fichtebund of Hamburg (originally established to disprove what the Germans term the 'War Guilt Lie') has boasted that in the single year 1935 it sent abroad upwards of five million leaflets and above five tons of books and pamphlets which were largely anti Jewish.

This organization circulates articles and reprints of speeches dealing with various aspects of Nazi Germany including attacks on the Jews and gives special publicity to the speeches delivered by the Nazi leaders at the Nuremberg congresses. They are translated into numerous languages are advertised in Fascist newspapers throughout the world, and can be obtained free of charge on application. Moreover they are frequently sent un

solicited through the mail to addresses throughout this country particular attention being paid to civil servants and military or naval officers. Another organization the *Welt Dienst* (World Service) of Erfurt regularly publishes bulletins in many languages which glorify German achievement and aims especially its racial policy and its persecution of the Jews. Not long since documentary evidence produced before the Swiss law courts demonstrated conclusively the connexion between this organization and German propaganda all over the world. The *Welt Dienst* publishes at intervals a bulletin in eight languages in which the foulest allegations are made against the Jews. On the cover it is specifically stated (the translation is not my own) that These leaflets are intended to be passed from hand to hand among Gentiles. The communication of the matters dealt with to the well intentioned Press is considered highly desirable. Those holding similar views to our own throughout the world who recognize the fact that systematic work and research after truth cannot be carried on without pecuniary outlay will of a surety decide to send us some small contribution as their means may permit. It is this same Bureau which has taken under its charge the propagation of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* which it offers to its correspondents in almost every language. It supplied too the "experts" at the trial at Berne when in spite of their efforts the forgery was judicially condemned. Another channel of propaganda is the broadcast and the newsreel by which means Germany has established her hold in South America while a free news service heavily tinged with propaganda, and all Nazi doings in that and other parts of the

attached to it may be realized from the pretentious new building now being erected in the heart of Berlin to serve as its centre. Visitors are often admitted to the country on conditions which though they may add a little to its reserves of foreign currency are clearly uneconomic. They are treated with ambassadorial deference given an official welcome and shewn that synagogues are still open. They are informed that the whole system of government the schools and the organs of public opinion were in the hands of Jews before the Nazi revolution—largely of eastern European Jews forming part of the hypothetical influx of 7 000 000 said to have streamed over the eastern frontier under the Weimar Republic.

III

Special organizations are moreover devoting their attention to the purpose of expounding the Nazi viewpoint in one country or another. In England, the most important is the Anglo German Fellowship which succeeding a similar pre-war institution, was organized shortly after the war for the sole purpose of improving relations between the two countries. Its original President was the first Lord Reading who devoted himself whole heartedly to its objects but resigned when the persecution of the Jews started in Germany. It has since been reorganized, and inevitably a good part of its attention is devoted to whitewashing German internal policy. Curiously enough, its President is now Lord Mount Temple—who along with his children and grandchildren, would however be debarred from any public position in Germany, since he married a daughter of Sir Ernest Cassel. (The fact that Sir Ernest's great-granddaughter is on the paternal side also a great great granddaughter of Queen Victoria would, I fear be of no help in the matter.)

The Fellowship operates in the higher strata of English society. More humble in membership and scope is the

Link, which is directed to the middle classes. Outwardly the purpose of both of these organizations is only to create friendship between Great Britain and Germany but an inevitable result of this is first, the justification and then the adulation of the present German regime and in their official organs there have recently figured not only attacks on the Jews but also criticisms of parliamentary democracy. Where possible the Link organizes local groups with lectures praising Nazi Germany and implicitly or explicitly attacking the Jews. In addition to these two major organizations, there are some purely local groups notably in Brighton, whose sole purpose is to spread Nazi gospel in this country.

The mass of Nazi propaganda from these and other sources is increasing in England daily. Letters and pamphlets attacking the Jews are broadcast through the post, sometimes being mailed (in order to make them appear all the more innocent and genuinely "British") in remote country villages. Even the minds of agricultural labourers and farmers in all parts of the land who have perhaps never seen a Jew are being poisoned by the stock anti-Jewish propaganda such as that the Jewish multiple stores are the ruin of British farming and the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* are adduced to shew that this is part of a subtle but deliberate scheme for bringing down the Empire. At select dinner parties in Mayfair clearly not casual in composition the conversation will be skilfully guided to the 'Jewish Problem' and a well primed guest will explain why the German example deserves imitation. And, before leaving the visitors are presented with printed propaganda of course including the 'Protocols'. The writer of a letter to *The Times* recently complained that anti-Semitic propaganda was actually being circulated in his name to others whose names appeared in its col-

The close interconnexion between British and German anti-Semitism is proved by the fact that arguments from Rosenberg's speeches are being reproduced almost word for word in Fascist leaflets published in this country. More significant still, some of the anti-Semitic labels which are stuck outside public places and Jewish shops in London are actually printed in Hamburg.

IV

If these are the conditions in England, the state of affairs on the Continent can be imagined. There were three countries of eastern Europe each with considerable and ancient Jewish populations in which even before the rise of Nazism conditions for the Jews were far from ideal. They are Poland, Hungary and Roumania. There German policy has definitely made anti-Semitism fashionable and even respectable. No longer is it possible for Liberal leaders to depict it as a relic of barbarism and a disgrace to the country for the nerve-centre of Europe's culture is now leading the way.

The German example has hence made the condition of the local Jewish population ever more critical, an example fortified by subsidized propaganda. The local German minorities have spread anti-Semitic poison as an integral part of their fight on behalf of the Fatherland. In Roumania there has been a spate of new periodicals subsidized by Nazi funds with the sole object of preaching anti-Semitism and the propagation of Nazi ideals. In Hungary though the Fascist party has been officially suppressed it continues a subterranean existence and assists in the spreading of the flood of propaganda which pours into the country from Germany.

The Anschluss was succeeded by a southerly thrust of German propagandist activities. In Yugoslavia the local German minority of 800,000 was organized, and anti-literature and papers clearly (for they

have no advertising revenue) began to appear. In those towns where there is any notable German speaking element a Nazi organization has been set up with a Fuehrer appointed from Germany at the head and local residents are forced to join. The situation here has been aggravated by the fact that there are in the country numerous

White Russian refugees some of whom still preserve the old pogrom spirit. So far the agitation has had no effect on the Government but there are signs that the temper of the people and their relations with their Jewish neighbours have changed for the worse.

The smaller countries are not immune. In Denmark, when a number of Nazi journalists were brought to trial for insulting the Jewish faith they raised objections to the judge who heard the case on the ground that he was of Jewish descent. Switzerland, part of the Greater Germany has been flooded with German propaganda some of it heavily subsidized. In Holland Nazi leaders boast that they have set up anti Semitic papers. Even in countries where there are virtually no Jews German influences have prevailed. General Lopez Pinto military commander of Burgos has declared gravely

' This is a war of religion. The enemies of Christ are the Jews and Freemasons. He who is not with Christ is against Him. War without mercy on all Jews and Freemasons. They must perish, one and all ' "

It is however in those overseas countries which harbour great German communities that the propaganda has reached its culminating point.

In South America, where the German colony is very numerous (there are over one million Germans in Brazil alone) the first opportunity was taken of introducing the Nazi ideology. Very shortly after Hitler came into power the German institutions were purged of non Aryans. The local settlements were organized on Nazi lines and, in the schools, children were brought up to hail Hitler

but never even heard of Bolivar. This was of course, accompanied by a systematic campaign of vilification against the Jews. So serious did matters become that there was real danger that a Nazi stranglehold might be established in local life. In self defence, the Government dissolved these organizations but the poison they had implanted remained.

It is probable that more German money has been spent on propaganda in the United States than in any other country—partly because of the important part which is played by that Power in world affairs partly because of the enormous German American population which it is desired to bring in line with the prevailing Nazi tendency. It is grimly comic to see how that same power which alleges that the Jews owe allegiance to some mythical external authority and so cannot be faithful citizens of the country in which they live regiments its former citizens in foreign lands (even though they may have adopted another nationality) overrides their new allegiances and even goes so far as to claim authority over their native-born children. It has been formally stated in the House of Representatives in Washington that there are thirty two Nazi camps in the country claiming a membership of nearly half a million and that they are the scenes some times of marches in para military formation accompanied by a salute of the swastika. In February 1938, the *Deutscher Volksbund* the chief organization for Nazi activities in the United States held its first convention, attended by no fewer than 15 000 delegates. As I write six officers of the German American Settlement League (a subsidiary of the *Volksbund*) have been convicted on a charge of violating the New York Civil Rights Act by taking an oath of allegiance to Herr Hitler. All these Nazi organizations of course, inculcate anti-Semitism as a primary condition of their existence. All this is accompanied by more direct and undisguised attacks. As early

as the spring of 1934 a German propaganda agency in Washington circulated a memorandum to all the priests throughout the United States attacking the Jews and asserting that they were propagating Bolshevism. The cost of Nazi propaganda in the country during the past twelve months is stated on good authority to total \$30 000 000 (£6 000 000)

In Canada conditions are more dangerous because of the vast and in some ways unenlightened French Canadian population among whom (partly as a by-product of their dislike of the English element in the country) an anti Jewish movement of strictly mediæval character has long flourished. This has now been reinforced by the half million Germans in the Dominion, comprising some 5 per cent of the population. The German consular offices are being used for the distribution of Nazi propaganda. In addition a vast quantity of literature of the vilest kind has poured into the country some by way of England but a good deal direct from Germany. A Canadian National Socialist party has been organized on the German model under a 'leader' named Arcand, though this is in fact, no less anti British than it is anti Jewish. In a country where problems of religion and nationality are already so complicated as they are in Canada the danger is extreme.

Another British Dominion where political conditions lend themselves to anti-Semitic propaganda is South Africa. Here a strong German settlement finds an ally in the ultra nationalist party. It is moreover hoped (a little sanguinely) that a whitewashing of Nazism may assist in the return of South West Africa to German hands. In January and February 1938 the Johannesburg *Star* one of the most responsible South African papers, published the results of an inquiry into Nazi activities in the Union. It was disclosed that the entire Dominion was honeycombed with German propaganda and organizations.

on the strictest Nazi lines. The whole work is directed from Berlin by a member of the staff of the German Foreign Office Herr Bohle who was born (of German parents) in Bradford was educated in Cape Town and went to Germany only in 1920 the official local leader is Bruno Stiller Counsellor of the German Legation at Pretoria

A slight slip in organization (some Jews with German names being inadvertently included in a mailing list) disclosed the fact that a very large amount of anti-Semitic leaflets and propaganda material in English and Afrikaans produced in Germany was being introduced and circulated in the Union (Johannesburg *Sunday Times* July 25th 1937) The *Cape Argus* commenting on the disclosures described the German organization as "an official German State body within this country. The Nazi branch here is no Cambrian Caledonian or Netherlands Society. It is part of the German State receiving orders from Berlin and exacting compliance from its members. And, among those orders first and foremost is the duty of hating the Jew."

This expensive propaganda is not confined to Europe and the European peoples overseas but is pursued also among the branches of those same 'Semites' whom National Socialism places on the lowest plane of humanity. Herr Streicher Editor of *Der Stuermer* boasted in an unguarded moment (in his Nuremberg speech of November 18th 1935) that he had *Stuermers* in Holland and also in Iraq. At the time of Dr Goebbels's proposed visit to Egypt, Nazi agents established themselves in that country where their activity has since been constant. Supervision of affairs in the Near East is believed to be entrusted to a Nazi "cell" established in London which is responsible for the distribution of money while the "technical" instructions are sent from Berlin. For the year 1938 £15 000 has been allotted for da here

Meetings are regularly held in the *Deutscher Verein* of Cairo where Egyptians married to German girls are frequently invited to lectures and are supplied with abundant literature. Under the same auspices committees of students of the famous El Azhar University have been set up in different districts of Cairo for the purpose of "coordinating Arab defence i.e. anti Jewish agitation in Palestine. On these committees Egyptians are invariably a minority they are generally composed of Palestinians Iraqians and Syrians but always include a German. This artificial agitation has had, of course the inevitable result of stirring up anti Jewish feelings in the lower classes in a country where for some time past the relations between the Jews and their neighbours have been ideal.

And now finally and in some ways most heartbreaking, Italy. The fact that the Racial Idea is being deliberately implanted in the soil of Italy isolates in a sort of test-tube the whole problem of anti-Semitism and reveals to the world how artificial the thing is in its essence, and how completely how exclusively it is a stunt in the most forbidding sense of the word.

The Jews of Italy number it is estimated forty five thousand, or rather less than one-tenth of 1 per cent. As a community in a sense explained earlier they are indigenous. Numerically no Jewish Problem exists. Qualitatively it does not exist either—for the minute Italo-Jewish community has provided for the Italian, even the Fascist State some of its most distinguished and loyal servants.

A Jewish Problem has had to be created. Why has Signor Mussolini set about creating it? In a conversation he had in 1924 with Dr. Sacerdoti Chief Rabbi of Rome he declared that 'anti-Semitism is a plant which cannot obtain a foothold in Italy. To Emil Ludwig he avowed as recently as 1932 "National pride has no need of the

delirium of race Anti-Semitism does not exist in Italy ”

Why is Mussolini seeing to it that it shall exist?

Is it not because the ravening anti Jew on the other side of the Brenner has made it the condition of his continued complaisance? Is it not because it has been necessary to divert the minds of the Italian people from the disappointment of Abyssinia the protracted drain of the Spanish adventure the bleakness of the internal situation? On what other hypothesis can we explain Signor Mussolini's flagrant betrayal of his own word? How explain further the suicidal contumacy of his stand against the Pope himself who has declared the wickedness of the racial heresy in language which has already become his tonic and has sent a thrill of mournful exultation throughout Jewry?

Signor Mussolini had the choice before him of Adolf Hitler and His Holiness He who strikes the Pope dies,' declared the Pope to the assembled students of Catholic Action Signor Mussolini has chosen Adolf Hitler There are many both in the congregation of St. Peter and among the survivors of Titus, who feel he has signed his own death warrant.

V

It has been said more than once (but is none the less true for that) that anti-Semitism is un-English Today, it is possible to go farther and to state unequivocally that it is Made in Germany To Germany it owed its revival in a pseudo-scientific form at the close of the last century To Germany it owes its present recrudescence And to constant unremitting and vastly expensive propaganda from the same country (the cost of which might have been more reasonably devoted to paying the country's legitimate debts) is due its present revival

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throughout the world on this tremendous scale. We are told a great deal in this propaganda of the peril of the hypothetical Jewish "International." But the anti Semitic "International" is more serious—for it exists.

ANTI SEMITISM EXPORTED

I

IN the previous chapter an attempt was made to indicate (with the collaboration not specifically contributed, of official quarters in Berlin) something of the highly organized mechanism by which anti Semitic propaganda is being fostered throughout the world by the German Government. In the following pages some of the results of this conspiracy will be outlined. In country after country conditions have shamefully deteriorated during the past five years: in central and eastern Europe they have become almost desperate. If I begin by speaking of England, it is not because I consider the position here to be really serious, but because there are numbers of decent Englishmen and Englishwomen who do not realize the petty persecutions to which their Jewish neighbours are being subjected at the present time. If this is the case here, it can be imagined how dangerous conditions are in eastern Europe where ugly possibilities have always lurked round the corner.

It is not difficult in this to recognize the example and the lesson of German propaganda. Sir Oswald Mosley started off his eccentric political career without any anti Jewish bias: indeed, his "New Party" adroitly put up a well known Jewish boxer as its candidate in 1931 in one of the few English constituencies in which the Jewish vote counts for something. Unfortunately he polled only 300 votes—a circumstance which seems to have rankled in the Leader's mind. From the flat brew of the New Party beverage he turned to the pure milk of F on the

Italian model but found that it made no particular appeal to the English palate. He then made the pilgrimage to Munich and came back with a new potion. By playing on latent anti-Semitic feeling, and identifying the Jews with every unpopular cause he could at least secure publicity, intelligibility and a certain amount of sympathy among retrograde intellects.

The British Union of Fascists hence embarked on a full-blooded anti-Jewish policy. The results may not have been commensurate with the expense involved but it is undeniable that serious anti-Jewish feeling has been stimulated, and that dormant anti-Jewish passions have been directed to more practical and dangerous channels.

It is noteworthy how faithfully the Nazi methods of the early days have been repeated for all the world as though the English disciple had received verbal instruction from his teacher. Following Herr Hitler's lead provocative Fascist marches have been staged through Jewish quarters and any consequent disorder has been paraded as proof of Jewish malice. (No one else attacks us Sir Oswald innocently declares.) The inevitable *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* are given all the veneration which can be spared from the *ipsissima verba* of the Leader. Leaflets have been distributed advocating a boycott of Jewish businesses. Anti-Jewish scrawls are seen on blank walls and hoardings all over England. Jewish shopkeepers' windows are defaced by anti-Jewish labels (in some cases printed in Germany). Even His Majesty's mails are not safe: time after time communications to or from Jewish organizations are defaced by swastikas, with the letters P J (Perish Judah). In the East End of London, acts of violence have increased: windows have been broken, individuals of Jewish a ----- have been molested and responsible residents that feelings are at a pitch pled in living

But Mosley's British Union of Fascists is not the worst offender. There are rivals and imitators who carry this anti Jewish propaganda a stage farther. In 1937 a split in the Union resulted in the withdrawal of two former lieutenants, William Joyce and John Becket who formed a National Socialist League which announced itself to be 'definitely anti Jewish' (the British Union are only incidentally so). More extreme still is the Imperial Fascist League, which has gone so far as to inculcate the ritual murder libel against the Jews in its organ *The Fascist*. In September 1936 its publisher Arnold S. Leese was sentenced to six months imprisonment for printing and publishing certain scandalous and libellous statements and by so doing effecting a public mischief. Nevertheless, early in 1938 he published an independent work on the same subject, rivalling in scurrility even the fragrant publications of Nazi-Germany. Another work traces the Jewish connexions in various families of the English aristocracy which are thereby stigmatized as being unfit to participate in our public life.

Refugees from Nazi Germany have been in part responsible for as they have been the first victims of this agitation. Owing to a rigid control of immigration the number in the country is very small indeed—between six and seven thousand. England should of all countries be conscious of the potential importance of such immigrants: are not her textile trade, her railways, her banking system, many of her staple industries, largely the creation of religious refugees freely admitted into this country in former times? Past experience has repeated itself already for industrial and manufacturing concerns established by German refugees already employ a considerable number of hands, many more it is estimated than the total number of refugees. With the arrival of some of the most distinguished German physicians, savants and scientists, whose life has been made impossible in their native land,

England has already been enriched. Moreover (and perhaps this is the most important consideration of all) it was in the past one of England's proudest boasts and not perhaps the least of her assets that no refugee from religious persecution abroad ever knocked at her gates in vain and this is a spiritual advantage which should not be lightly surrendered.

Despite all this the presence in the country of this handful of refugees has already unloosed storms of protest which some sections of the yellow Press have helped to develop. It is alleged that a host of foreign Jews is overrunning the country. By a particularly mean trick, the political menace of Germany and the possibilities of German espionage are being manipulated to prejudice the position here of German Jews who are victims of the German terror. It is widely stated that the medical profession is being overwhelmed by the refugees though actually up to the April of this year only 187 or 0.31 per cent of the total number of names on the Register had been allowed to practise—surely no excess of hospitality towards a company of healers who have it in their power to enrich English medicine with the latest methods and ideas of central European therapy. These were people to consult whom sufferers in this country in happier times specially journeyed to Germany or Austria. The others once they are acclimatized to English ways and technique will be an invisible handful dispersed throughout the profession.

What has been stated in these pages serves to illustrate the fundamental and unfortunate fact that—owing partly to Nazi example partly to Nazi propaganda—England has become "Jew conscious" to an extent that she has never perhaps been since the Expulsion of 1290. People are beginning to think in terms of Jews. They are beginning to examine microscopically the proportions of the Jews in the various ———. They are beginning to

consider the Jew not as a decent enough fellow who attends (or does not attend) a different place of worship, but (like the old legalists) as the perpetual alien." Journalists see good copy in the situation and add to the turmoil by publishing articles *pro* and *contra*. The Jews naturally enough but not perhaps fortunately answer diffusely and sometimes not too well.

The one certain consequence of all this is that even in this country the popular mind has begun to preoccupy itself with a "Jewish Problem" in other words the fact that a Jew's grandfather came from abroad or that the costume shops in Berwick Street are largely in Jewish hands or that the Jews either intermarry or do not intermarry with the rest of the population constitutes a "problem" instead of a phenomenon.

I find it impossible to believe that what happened in Germany could happen here. I believe that the German has a primitive and almost mystic compulsion to side *against* the weak and outnumbered, as the English to side *with* them. An episode recorded in the *Daily Telegraph* recently illustrates exactly what I mean.

Mr Raymond Williamson a young English student from Southport Lancashire was badly hurt in a fight in a Munich cabaret on Friday night. He is now in the surgical clinic suffering from severe face lacerations and concussion.

"The dispute started over a bill for 55 pfennings—about 6d. According to an eye witness Mr Williamson was attacked without any provocation. He had been with a party of five Americans and was challenged by a waiter for an alleged unpaid bill when he was about to leave the

using rubber truncheons and chairs as weapons

The Americans after helping to rescue their friend reported the matter to the police but so far no action has been taken'

I have perceived this compulsion in operation in Germany time after time and endured it on my own person almost with exhilaration so perfect an instance it was of the *furor teutonicus* raging as it always does against a creature or creatures hopelessly outmatched

It cannot happen here I say for the English are not composed as the Germans are Even in Germany the forest of foul weeds could only have sprung from a soil soured and impoverished by failure in war by the combination in the peace that followed of humiliation from without and fraud within

It cannot happen here. I will not listen to the voice that whispers Exactly so the German Jews comforted themselves as the brown tides rose remorselessly around them

Here there is chivalry and there is God *It cannot happen here*

II

I have dealt at some length with conditions in England because they resemble in general outline those in most other democratic countries There is everywhere (in part, as I have said, owing to unconscious imitation and in part to deliberate inculcation of the German example) a revival of anti Semitic feeling In the Western countries the menace is as yet a distant one There is a certain *malaise* in Jewish life It is possible to sense the change that has made itself felt in the atmosphere during the past five years persons think and speak and write in terms of a 'Jewish Problem' there are occasional isolated incidents, of no great importance in themselves And that, for the moment, is all

Matters are different when we come to eastern Europe with its great Jewish masses and its tradition of Jewish bairting uninterrupted over a period of centuries. Here the condition of the Jew is radically unlike that in the Western world. The current Occidental allegations—the accumulation of riches, the abuse of money power, the incursion into the professions, and so on—would generally speaking be meaningless here. The Jew of eastern Europe is on the whole on a completely different level from his coreligionist in the west.

I am thinking particularly of Poland, with its Jewish population of 3 300 000—second in magnitude only to that of the United States, and comprising approximately one in ten of the inhabitants of the country. An enormous proportion thinks the Western reader no wonder that Poland has its 'Jewish Problem' and wants to reduce the numbers. For the Western reader does not often realize that these Jews are natives of the country in precisely the same sense as the Poles themselves. They have been living there for ten centuries (Polish history itself begins only about the year 1000). From the thirteenth century their numbers increased rapidly. The country had been left almost desolate after the Tartar invasions and in order to re-establish its economic life one ruler after the other invited and encouraged Jews and others from the as they were then more civilized lands to the west to settle in the country. Many of the settlers came from Germany refugees from the persecutions which were common there at that time. With them they brought their own language which with pathetic fidelity they continued to cherish and to foster and to speak generation after generation, and which is the basis of the present J or Yid-

fostered that the commodities and the ideas of the west began to penetrate the country and that the modern Poland was developed. Their descendants are still a fairly homogeneous body. Forty per cent of them are artisans, there are perhaps 100 000 settled on the soil of the remainder, the majority are small shopkeepers, pedlars, and the other middle-men responsible for the distribution of the necessities of life. The vast majority are very poor at the best and the proportion of professional men and the like is minute. It is in fact, an old-established national minority like many others in Poland—with its typical folk ways, religion and language.

This was accepted by the Peace Conference in Paris which in recognizing Poland's national existence, insisted on equality of treatment for all racial or religious minorities in its borders. Though Poland's birth pangs had been accompanied by a series of pogroms, her Jews hoped that this was to be the prelude to a period of tranquility. But unfortunately Poland embarked on an experiment to convert the country into a National State, Polish in the same sense in which (say) Italy is Italian, or Holland is Dutch. It is clear that this is unethical in a sense even more acute than for instance, the compulsory and forcible Americanization of the Poles in the United States would be for the latter crossed the Atlantic of their own free will whereas its minorities were assigned to Poland without being consulted and had been living in their present homes from time immemorial. And they are very considerable: there are upwards of 4 000 000 Ukrainians and 1 000 000 Germans and 2 000 000 Russians in addition to the Jews so that the Poles do not amount to as much as 70 per cent. of the population. They can become 100 per cent. only at the price of gross injustice, in which the Jews would be by no means the only sufferers.

In the campaign to convert the country into a National State the Jews suffered more than their fellow minorities

The latter formed on the whole, fairly compact groups the Jews were scattered. The latter could count on a certain amount of protection from other powers but not the Jews. In addition, it was possible to stir up against the Jews semi dormant religious prejudice and atavistic Jew hatred. Thus whereas the presence of 4 000 000 Ukrainians in Poland merely made a minority the presence of 3 300 000 Jews was elevated into a problem. And whereas other minorities have been merely regimented the intention has been declared that the Jews or the greater part of them must be eliminated.

Thus, even before 1933 their position had been serious enough. Their parliamentary representation which in 1922 rose to 34 (a figure not by any means disproportionate to their numbers) was whittled away almost to vanishing point. There were occasional outbursts of disorder. The nationalistic parties found them a useful whetstone to sharpen their followers enthusiasm. They had difficulty in making their way in the professions and were exposed to vilification in the universities. From the Civil Service and the very important Government monopolies where they might rationally have expected 10 per cent of the appointments they were excluded almost entirely. In Warsaw where the Jews constitute over 30 per cent of the population they provide less than 2 per cent of the municipality's employees.

All this had already made much progress even before 1933. With the Nazi rise to power the process was intensified. As had happened fifty years before the German example made native anti-Semitism (previously regarded as something a little disgraceful and retrograde) respectable, and indeed noble. Not only did the Polish extremists the 'Endeks' model themselves and their methods on those of the Nazis the Government itself was infected by the example before long. The concrete
o e was intensified by the economic depression which

hit Poland severely. This was exacerbated, in the case of the Jews by the discrimination in all walks of life which has been indicated above. Moreover that section of the population to which the Jews belong was hard hit by the Government policy of extending Governmental monopolies more and more into various trades and branches of commerce thereby seriously affecting the shop-keeping class as a whole. But whereas the displaced non Jewish shop keeper could hope to administer these newly created monopolies under the Government this was out of the question for the Jews who tacitly but none the less effectively are excluded from them.

And the discrimination was not restricted to Government employment. Not long since (May 10th 1937) it was reported that an association of Christian porters in Warsaw issued a protest against the unfair competition of the Jewish porters who (they alleged) were monopolizing the best pitches. It was suggested that Jewish porters should be forbidden to work in the centre of the city, that their number should be limited, and that they should wear a special badge so that no self respecting Pole might employ them unawares.

It is not contested that the Jews are performing an important economic function. The gravamen of the charge against them is that they are Jews. It is desired to make the population of the towns more uniform (to say more Polish is to beg the question). The Christian Pole must become more urbanized. The peasantry must be encouraged to leave the land and settle in the towns. The Jew will thus become superfluous.

And what then? The conclusion, after 1933 was obvious. "Germany's success" wrote the *Gazetta Warszawska* on April 19th 1935 teaches us in Poland to adopt the same policy which will force the Jews to organize their own mass emigration. We can do that only by making the Jews realize once and for all that

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there will be no stopping until not a single Jew is left in Poland.

So the world was gravely and officially informed by the representative of the Polish Government, that the presence of three and a quarter million Jews in the country constituted a 'problem' and that a place of refuge must be found for them elsewhere. It is for all the world as though the English Government were suddenly to decide that the existence of 3 000 000 Welshmen in Great Britain was a 'problem' and that the world must find a home for them. It is as dangerous a precedent as our times can shew. Were it admitted we would be confronted by another Wandering of the Nations with the difference that it would be staged in an overpopulated world.

Thus Polish Jewry has been pushed to the brink of ruin. Unemployment among them has grown to fantastic proportions. One-third of the total number are without work without resources without hope and are slowly starving to death. Another third can just make sufficient to keep body and soul together but no more and are living below the subsistence level. There are perhaps only one million, out of the total of 3 300 000 who can (for the moment) look forward to the immediate future with any confidence and even they do not know what the next few months may have in store. It is alleged as an extenuation of the Government's policy and of possible future developments that the younger element among the Polish Jews is turning to Communism. If that is true (but it cannot be in the case of the majority still wrapped up in the traditional Jewish life and absorbed in Talmudic study) it would not necessarily be a matter for apology but still less for surprise.

The position of Polish Jewry is hence grave in the extreme and if they are not subjected to a persecution so odious and systematic as in Germany the numbers involved are far greater. There is one further important

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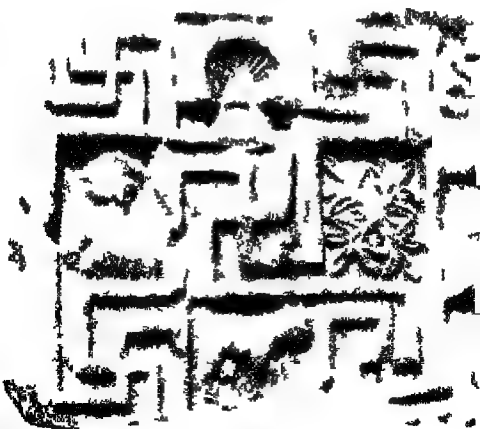


JEWISH CHILDREN
ery hym bo k so aging th be ci g of j wish





SWASTIKA GERMANY 20th CENT



SWASTIKA PALESTINIAN SYNAGOGUE 20th CENT

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difference that, through long generations of persecution the Polish Jews have become to some extent inured to suffering and even to starvation. (Incidentally the Polish persecution is rather more impartial in so backward a part of the world they have not yet learned to select the country's finest intellects, greatest physicians and most brilliant scientists for differential treatment.) But the future is very dark. Another step backward, another Nazi triumph, another wave of hysteria and all Polish Jewry may be swept into the abyss not 500 000 men and women with some resources as was the case in Germany but seven times that number helpless and penniless. It would be a disaster hardly equalled in modern history. But the present is bad enough. The tragedy has not perhaps the dramatic qualities of the downfall of German Jewry, but there is little else that it lacks to be comparable with it.

III

Turn now to Roumania, with its 900 000 Jews and its anti Semitic movement already flourishing when Herr Hitler was in the cradle. Here conditions have been bad enough ever since the country was brought into existence in the nineteenth century. True the rights of Roumanian Jews were guaranteed by the Berlin Congress in 1878. But treaty obligations in this direction were easily evaded by pretending that Jews however long they and their fathers before them might have been resident in the country were not Roumanians.

Even before the World War therefore, Roumania had a black name so far as the treatment of her Jewish subjects was concerned. The peace increased their number threefold, under what was imagined to be the effective guarantee of the Minorities Treaty. But this was disregarded with impunity and there has been a more or less continuous record of violence, attack, and discrimination,

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coupled with violent Jew baiting on occasion by the anti Semitic Iron Guard ¹

Conditions were hence already serious when in the spring of the present year a curious piece of political chicanery suddenly placed the Fascist leader Goga, in the office of Prime Minister. Immediately following Herr Hitler's example with flattering fidelity he issued a full blooded anti Semitic programme which was intended to bring the country into line with Germany. There was an immediate panic throughout the country on the part of Jews and non Jews alike reflected in a catastrophic slump in the business sphere. The reactions of the world were not favourable and within a couple of months King Carol dismissed the Government and took the reins into his own hands. The Jews, safely returned into the familiar atmosphere of conventional anti Semitism, breathed a sigh of relief and prepared to continue to suffer their multitudinous minor annoyances and disabilities with resignation.

But they have been warned. A Fascist Government has been in power in Roumania, and has declared its intentions in no uncertain voice. True today the tendency is in the opposite direction. The rape of Austria has reminded Roumania that she may expect from Germany something more redoubtable than ideological advances. Yet the tide may turn again. Fascism may once more control the Roumanian Government—not as a minority this time but as a majority and for good. If this happens—as it has happened once before—the Jews know what to expect. They too consider it wiser to be nervous than to be sorry. Their eyes, too are turned beyond the frontier, Hungary even before the war was a hotbed of

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nationalism in which Hungary's Jews (not unmindful that they had contributed a regiment to the patriotic forces or Kossuth in 1848) cordially participated. They were a little shocked when they found themselves among its victims. After the war there was a good deal of sporadic violence. Later on, in defiance of the peace treaties and in order to keep the Jews' passion for learning within what the non-Jewish Magyar considers to be reasonable proportions, a *numerus clausus* was introduced restricting the number of Jewish students in the University to 5 per cent.

With the establishment of the Nazi example and the infiltration of Nazi influence this comparatively harmless measure proved a particularly dangerous precedent. If the Jewish proportion in the universities could be limited by law, why not the Jewish participation in other national activities? And so in the spring of the present year the Government, while carefully disclaiming any anti-Semitic bent, passed a measure restricting the participation of the Jews in Hungarian business, industrial, and professional activities to 20 per cent, five years being allowed to put this into force.

It sounds innocuous enough if petty, considering that the Jews constitute with their 450,000 souls only 5 per cent of the total population. But, in certain parts of the country this proportion is far exceeded. Budapest, for example, houses over half the number, comprising nearly one quarter of the total population of the city. Yet here too the proportion of Jews is to be restricted to one in five in all walks of life. Natural proclivity to and his torical concentration in certain callings are disregarded. The little Jewish shop-keeper with one employee, is to be treated in the same way as a great department store. The difficulty that the Jew may normally have in obtaining employment which will shut him entirely out of many cannot be compensated for even by Jewish

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houses who must confine the number of Jews in their employment to one in five. The observant Jew who closes his business on Saturday and desires to give an opportunity to young coreligionists to observe the Sabbath likewise will no longer be able to do so for he must henceforth give direct employment to an overwhelming majority of non Jews. The Government can enforce dismissals or compulsory closing down where the figure of 20 per cent is exceeded but it is doing nothing to ensure that the figure should be increased when this proportion is not reached or even approached. The proportion of 44 per cent Jews engaged in the chemical industry will doubtless be halved but is it probable that the proportion of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in Government positions (only one-quarter what it should be) or the 1 per cent engaged in transportation will be compulsorily increased?

Meanwhile within the next five years at least 14 000 clerks engineers company executives commercial travellers salesmen journalists and actors will lose their present jobs in addition to another 10 000 in other walks of life representing perhaps 100 000 souls in all. Moreover Jews who were unemployed before the Bill was passed (and there were many of them) now have no hope of obtaining employment. There is no wonder that, when the measure passed into law the consulates in Budapest were besieged with Jews clamouring for visas which would enable them to go to some foreign land where they would have a chance of earning their living that hundreds of middle-class girls many of them university graduates are trying to obtain employment overseas as domestic servants that every Jew in Hungary is now studying English, the tongue which offers most opportunities in the outside world.

Yet this is only the beginning. Five years are allowed for this new *n* *cl* to be carried into effect. Meanwhile what may not happen? What if the propor

tion is decreased from 20 per cent to 15 per cent or 10 per cent. or 5 per cent.—figures equally logical and with consequences more and more terrible to contemplate? What too will be the final result of this legislative enactment which lays down that Jews alone of Hungarians are to receive differential treatment and have their activities microscopically scrutinized? To what disgraceful extremities may not men deprived of all other channels of livelihood descend? And with the next advance of Nazi ideals the next sop to the Awakening Magyars what new disaster may not follow on this preliminary one? It is impossible to say what the future has in store. The one thing that is sure is that the outlook in their native land for the half million Hungarian Jews is black indeed.

IV

It would be possible to continue this depressing survey. Elsewhere in eastern Europe conditions are similarly serious and the future hardly less dark. Even where circumstances have been tolerable the threatening shadow of the swastika is chilling the very soul of the Jews as of every liberal man and woman. In March when 150 000 of the stricken German Jews had been accommodated elsewhere there was that violent irruption into Austria which reduced 200 000 Jews overnight to beggary and desperation. Outlets were saturated, relief funds exhausted—and the problem was greater than it had ever been before. Since then has come the cession of Sudetenland to Germany with a population (according to the 1930 census) of 28 400 Jews established there for long centuries. Their fate is too grimly sure to encourage speculation. But what of the 326 000 Jews in the rump state of Czechoslovakia? (I quote the figures of the 1930 census which take into account neither the natural accretion nor the total of refugees from various lands, chiefly Germany and

Austria) What is to become of them? The inquiry is not intended to throw any doubts on the chivalry and generosity of the Czech people. But do they not feel they have been chivalrous and generous enough beyond the point of self martyrdom? What are henceforth the prospects for this large Jewish minority in a country engirdled by a palisade of swastikas? The outlook is hardly less serious for all the Jews of eastern Europe who feel themselves nearing the edge of a chasm and wonder how soon they may be precipitated over it. It may be said that out of approximately 16 000 000 Jews in the world something like 6 000 000 live under physical conditions which are or are rapidly becoming unbearable it may be said further that unless domestic conditions change the future holds out no hope for them save in emigration. It remains to examine the other side of the picture and to see where the miserable fugitives of today and of tomorrow can hope to find refuge.

CHAPTER TWELVE

WHITHER?

I

It is a commonplace among those who know something of Jewish history to say that the present is the gravest hour in the record of the Jewish people since the expulsion from Spain in 1492 which put an end to the happiest community of the Middle Ages. This though is less than the truth. For there were two great differences between the crisis of 1492 and that of today. In the first place the victims of that barbarous age had an alternative. In the second they had a refuge.

For the Edict of Expulsion from Spain—as indeed all the mediæval measures of the sort—were aimed only against professing Jews. These had to leave the country with a minimum of delay. Converted Jews however might remain and it was specifically stated on most occasions (and was inferred on all others) that by adopting Christianity they would escape from the scope of the measure and might continue in the country of their residence undisturbed. At other periods of stress and violence too it was possible by conversion to secure the same security of life and limb and the same rights as other men—a possibility of which a certain number under the vigilant scrutiny of the Inquisition, regularly availed themselves. It is to be noted that in almost every case their descendants merged completely and without difficulty in the general community—there was no quality of “blood” to prevent this. The weaker brethren thus had an avenue of escape the stronger were at least afforded the moral satisfaction of martyrdom.

Four and a half centuries later all this is different. No alternative is offered in our enlightened day. The persecution is directed against the Jewish race instead of against the Jewish faith. There is hence no possibility of evasion, no system of denaturalization, no ceremony of baptism which can possibly affect or mitigate that damning quality of blood. The differentiation becomes all the more terrible when one reflects that whereas it is at least arguable that wrongful religious views are dangerous, one's descent is something over which one has no possibility of control. For a man to be made to suffer for his opinions is perhaps logical, however much it may be mistaken. For him to be made to suffer for his descent is not unlike persecuting him because he has blue eyes.

At previous times of crisis moreover some land of refuge was always open to the Jews. When they were uprooted from Palestine, the entire Roman Empire was available to them. Expelled from England in 1290 they could take refuge in France. When in 1306 they were driven out from France it was possible to cross the frontiers into Germany and Spain. Massacred in Germany they could trek farther eastward to Poland, and on the occasion of the great expulsion from Spain Turkey opened her doors wide. (What, do you call this Ferdinand wise? the Sultan Bajazet is reported to have remarked. "He who strips his realm of his best subjects in order to enrich mine.") In our own day after the beginning of the Age of Pogroms in Russia, the labour famine in America permitted the absorption of hundreds of thousands of refugees without difficulty. But now for the first time in history, owing to the saturation of most areas of settlement, the serious economic condition throughout the world, and the growing nationalist feeling (stimulated by the neo-racialist nonsense in Germany), all the obvious outlets are blocked. As it has recently been phrased unfortunately without exaggeration, the world is now to be divided

between countries where Jews cannot live and countries where Jews must not enter

Incidentally on most of these occasions the Jews were allowed to take property with them though in obedience to mediaeval conceptions there were restrictions on the transfer of gold and bullion. But (as has been indicated elsewhere) to export property from Germany is now all but impossible. The country is eager to rid itself of the Jews but practically all their possessions must be left behind, and they must go out naked the responsibility for their escaping starvation being thrust on others. It is not only (as at the beginning) that businesses have to be surrendered to their new Aryan owners all but compulsorily (and in many instances the qualification is superfluous) for a fraction of their real value.

Progressively matters have become far far worse. A special flight tax imposed on the refugees netted last year alone some £7 000 000 for the German Government. Up to a few months ago after paying this and other dues which reduced his assets to about 70 per cent of the original total it was possible for an emigrant to sell the remainder on "blocked account" at about 10 per cent of its face value. Thus provided that he had been able to convert his property successfully into liquid assets he would realize about 7 per cent net of his original wealth. Permission could then be obtained from the German authorities to transfer the blocked account to the purchaser converting it thus into a currency with a more solid basis than rhetoric. Early in 1938 however it was announced that the German authorities would grant no further permits to transfer such accounts. The German Jew for whom life and livelihood are now equally impossible in the country is forced to leave it without sufficient money to pay for a taxi fare at the other end. Such confiscation is of course piracy. To cast native born subjects penniless into a foreign country on the mercy

of the charitable-minded is unexampled in the whole story of international or of human relationships

Men of means and property can generally be sure of admission if not of welcome where they please. The pauper everywhere finds the gates closed and it is to this condition that Germany is deliberately reducing its dispossessed children. Nevertheless leave they must

II

The horror of the present tragedy can be realized as one reads from time to time of the positively ludicrous attempts which are being made by central European Jews to discover an outlet. It is like a trapped beast hurling itself against the wall pawing desperately at every crevice, in the hope of being able to escape. There is hardly a spot on the world's surface which has not been the subject of speculation or inquiry. In Vienna last spring the rumour spread that the poverty stricken island of Cyprus might provide an opening for some refugees. It is reported that no fewer than 13 000 applications for settlement were received by May 1st (I give the figures as they have been given me improbable though they seem). Of these only 200 were accepted. In January 1937 world-wide attention was attracted by the report that the French Colonial Minister had suggested the possibilities of a settlement on the land in her colonies of Madagascar and elsewhere. The Polish Government greeted the report with effusions of joy here at last was the opportunity of ridding the country of her surplus Jews. Germany on the other hand, contrary to what might have been anticipated in a country which desired to solve the problem of its non-Aryans by emigration stigmatized the scheme as the result of an intrigue by the anonymous Jewish Government and Jewish bankers who wish to win away France's colonies, while y's rightful demands for room for

expansion were ignored. Meanwhile in Madagascar protests were raised as might be expected on the time-honoured principle of Madagascar for the Madagascans. Not much has been heard of the plan of late and it seems that at the best it is not likely to provide a solution for more than the merest handful.

Again in July 1936 a well intentioned but not very prominent American politician opened up negotiations without any external authority with the President of Cuba for the time being. It was proposed (though without any suggestions as to the mechanism of the process) that the Republic should open her gates to a minimum of 100 000 persecuted Jews. Though clearly fantastic the plan called forth a great deal of comment and criticism abroad and a minor anti-Semitic storm in Cuba. Subsequently it was revised, the number being reduced to 25 000 to be spread over a period of five years. Their admission was to be dependent, however on the investment of between £10 000 000 and £20 000 000 in industrial and scientific enterprises in the Republic—clearly a useful method of inducing an industrial revival at someone else's cost. Once the saner details became known enthusiasm waned for such a sum of money were it collected could be invested elsewhere with greater security and at least equal prospects. The Cuba scheme remains one of the monumental chimeras which mark the road that leads from Berlin.

The existence of the problem formally received international recognition last July when on the invitation of the President of the United States an inter Governmental conference met at Evian to consider the problem of the political refugees (essentially of course Jewish) from Germany and Austria. It was nobly enough conceived, yet it does not seem as though very much is likely to result from it indeed, unless it could have induced the German Government to allow the refugees to take some reasonable proportion of their substance with them, it could hardly

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have been expected to do much more. A permanent committee has been set up in London. The representatives of more than one country have held out the prospect (as yet unsubstantiated) that their respective Governments might consider the relaxation of their immigration laws. Though the Jew cannot but be profoundly grateful at this demonstration of sympathy, he cannot fail to feel some uneasiness at this quasi-recognition by an international conference of the right of a country to expel its nationals.

III

The question remains then: Where are the refugees to find a new home? Between 1933 and the close of 1937 over 130 000 Jews left Germany (without counting refugees from other countries); by now the total is something like 150 000. At the outset, it was France that provided a haven for the largest number. Economically situated as she is, this could not continue indefinitely; yet in the spring of the present year a new French law made it clear that should a refugee arrive on her frontiers without passport or travel paper and establish that he is fleeing from religious or political persecution, he shall be admitted to the country. (England provided similarly for refuge in the case of victims of foreign persecution when immigration was limited by the Aliens Act of 1905, but the concession was withdrawn in 1914.) But, normally speaking, France has reached her absorptive limits, and notwithstanding the recent Madagascar project, it is not likely that her colonial empire offers much scope.

The same applies to most others of the more advanced countries adjoining Germany, of which some (for example, Czechoslovakia) originally emulated France's warm hospitality. (I do not speak for the moment of countries like Poland, which play the frying pan to the German fire.) I suppose that it was impossible for them to continue to

maintain the policy of the Open Door alone when all other doors were closed for this might mean that the whole of German Jewry could transfer itself *en bloc* to the one haven which was open. It is true that they might die of hunger but it is presumably better to die of hunger where you are allowed the rights of a human being than where you are treated like a dog

England has been less generous. As indicated above the total number of refugees to whom she has given hospitality is inconsiderable. Sir John Hope Simpson has indeed, recently suggested that this country should set an example to the world by announcing that she is prepared to accept 100 000 refugees—a lead which would necessarily have a great influence on the self governing Dominions and thus might make a considerable advance towards the solution of the problem as a whole. The addition to any country of a body of young strong, active and industrious immigrants with the probability of a long life before them (as the refugees from Germany and Austria in the main are) is clearly an asset particularly to a land which like England, is faced with an imminent fall in population. As workers and consumers moreover they must add to its economic activity rather than compete (as is generally imagined) in the labour market. Moreover this class would constitute an addition of the most valuable age groups whose adolescence and education would have cost the receiving country nothing.

Nevertheless in the present state of sentiment, it is out of the question to imagine that England is likely to behave so magnanimously. The least, however that can be expected of her humanity is that she will receive those who can prove that they are not likely to be a charge on the country or can enrich her intellectual and economic life and that she should not throw back to the ravening wolves in Berlin and Vienna the human flotsam that is cast up from time to time on her shores

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Fifty years ago at the time when her great labour famine enabled her to absorb annually an almost unlimited number of immigrants the United States of America could have solved the present problem almost single handed in one year 1906 over 150 000 Jews from eastern Europe were able to establish their homes in the country—yet these constituted barely one seventh of the total number of that year's immigrants That, however is now past. Unemployment is rife in the United States and it appears to be out of the question for the moment that more than the numerical quota of some 30 000 Germans (not only German Jews) will be allowed under careful guarantees to enter the country in any single year Clearly the way of salvation does not lie past the Statue of Liberty

The British Dominions would rationally appear to offer a slender hope at the least for the victims of persecution It was not long since Canada was expected to hold a population of 20 000 000 by this time the total has barely reached half that figure Australia's three million square miles—approximately the same area as that of the United States—would seem to afford prospects for far more than its present population of 6 500 000 The sub-continent of South Africa is potentially one of the wealthiest areas of the world—not only because of the great mining industry in whose development Jews played so great a part Yet these self governing Dominions are determined not to open their doors except partially and under the most rigorous conditions

South Africa has indeed gone farther Once regarded as a land of refuge it would become (if a certain element in its population had its way) a land of flight. That Nazi propaganda that has been described in a previous chapter has borne its fruit in the establishment of various 'shirt' movements outdoing one another in virulence and proposing the most sweeping restrictions, in the full Berlin on the Jews In 1937 as a result of

open anti-Semitic propaganda led by the Nationalist leader Dr Malan an Immigration Act was passed which in effect was aimed only against Jews and shut down almost completely all possibility of Jewish immigration. Worse developments are not out of the question. For the moment, it must be registered as a deplorable fact that the gates of South Africa, formerly looked to as a haven of liberty and opportunity are closed and locked and double bolted against the refugees.

If the other British Dominions are not so virulent, this does not imply that any of them are eager though the latest reports from Australia are slightly more reassuring. It is announced that the Government of Victoria intends to submit legislation to prevent refugee physicians from practising in that State—a stern measure prompted by the recent arrival of the menacing number of forty of them! Steps to restrict immigrants to the Dominion as a whole to persons of British stock do not augur well for any change of policy in the near future. Proposals have indeed, been put forward for the establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies both in Australia and in Kenya (the last was one of the few practical proposals put forward by any official representative at the Evian Conference). But it would be an immensely expensive process and it does not seem as though the results can possibly be on a scale anything like commensurate with the problem with which the world is confronted. Rhodesia has been invited to find room for an agricultural colony of five hundred families but it is already insisted that this would ruin her British character and turn the country into an annexe of Palestine. Unless there is a drastic change of policy or a labour famine somewhere in the Empire comparable to that in the United States a generation ago it is improbable (as matters now appear) that the English speaking world will do anything on a large scale to solve the problem. Yet Jewry cannot but be grateful for even

few or small mercies. It is difficult to restrain an almost harrowing gratitude towards the executive leaders of any community who will give refuge to a single Jewish child escaped from the Nazi hell.

Apart from the British Empire it would logically seem that the South and Central American Republics afford the greatest hope. Every now and again one hears rumours of missions and bargains and arrangements with the Government of some State in Latin America (generally politically unstable and riddled with malaria) which is expected to produce remarkable fruits. But much the same thing applies here too. There are dangerous local currents of feeling the same readiness to accept wealthy settlers and reluctance to accept poor ones the same rising tide of nationalism and prejudice the same economic jealousies. Latin America holds already upwards of half a million Jews many of them of comparatively recent immigration. It has afforded a haven for some thousands or perhaps tens of thousands of central European Jewish refugees. But it is impossible to expect that under present conditions it can make a contribution on a really large scale to the solution of the difficulties of the Jewish position. The credit for this and for attempting to attack the problem from the very roots can be assigned to two countries only. One is among the oldest in the world the other in many respects the newest. One is stupendously large the other insignificantly small. One is Russia the other is Palestine.

IV

There is a sense in which it can be maintained that the Russian Revolution was responsible for the greatest act of Jewish emancipation since the exodus from the House of Bondage. It released the Jews from the Pale of Settlement in which they lived a life of social and economic comparable with their old slavery. It put them

on a footing of absolute equality with all the Gentiles in the Soviet Dominions. It made anti-Semitism illegal—not so much through love of the Jews as because it was considered—rightly it can eloquently be argued—a counter-revolutionary weapon of the capitalist class. Whatever lingering prejudices may remain it can be said that the experiment has been generally speaking successful. In fact it can be said that the situation of the Jews is, in one sense more propitious in the U.S.S.R. than anywhere else in the world, for there positive Jew-hatred is a criminal act.

The Jew as a self-conscious racial or national unit is given the fullest opportunity of self-development in the U.S.S.R. The language he has created in the Diaspora—Yiddish—is an official State language. But here is the flaw in the crystal, and a jagged one. The Jew as a religious unit is discouraged. Hebrew the language which is so intimately bound up with his very essence is severely frowned upon. Of course it must be realized that the Christian as such and the Buddhist as such are equally discouraged on the ground as Lenin held that religion is the opium of the people. But it remains to be proved what sort of a Jew the Jew can develop into cut off forcibly from his roots or if he can remain a Jew at all.

It was quite early in the Soviet story that Jewish colonies were established. There was nothing new in that. Jewish colonies had been flourishing in Palestine for several decades. And even if they had not had the Palestine example before them it is certain that Jewish colonies would have been set up in Russia. For the new order aimed a deadly blow at the very existence of the millions of Jews that still survived in the former Pale of Settlement. They were middle men petty traders—they had never been allowed to be anything else. Those were the very classes the new regime desired most ardently to liquidate. Some were to be into industry. Others were to

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go on the land whence they had been excluded for countless centuries. So the Jewish colonies arose chiefly in Crimea in the Ukraine and on the Dnieper.

But the idea of the settlement in Biro Bidjan is something more grandiose than that. Biro Bidjan is a tract of land two or three times the size of Palestine on the far east of the Soviet territories over against the Manchurian frontier. It has been and is going to remain a tough proposition to its colonists. It suffers from extremes of heat and cold it is very remote and is on the frontier of ugly possibilities should the day at last come when Japan and the Soviet are forced by the logic of their respective principles to decide the issue by war. These are the disadvantages from a purely practical aspect.

On the other hand the Jewish colonists would prefer to find themselves faced up against the fiercest physical obstacles the Soviet territories can offer them. They want to prove that the spiritual vitality which kept them alive through millennia of contempt and persecution can now be applied to the uprooting of the shaggiest forests and the breaking up of the most iron soil.

The experiment started on March 8th 1928 when Biro Bidjan was established as a Jewish region. More recently it became the Jewish Autonomous Territory of the Far East. There were no Jews there in 1928. There are thirty thousand there now and though it is reported that the venture is at present making heavy weather the future is regarded with confidence in the U.S.S.R. It was in these words that Kahrin expressed the attitude of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.

"I consider Biro Bidjan will become in ten years the custodian of Jewish national culture Jewish in form but Socialist in content. It will master the rule of the new province in a co-operative manner and not the rapacious of

Yet does not Kalinin concede a great deal almost everything when he says that Yiddish culture will be Yiddish in form but Socialist in content? Is it not almost as logical to say Yiddish culture will be Yiddish in form but Nazi in content?

One of two things, it seems to me will happen Either the Jews will completely disappear among the surrounding Mongol races or some form of their ancient religion will be re established among them For religion and reason revolve in cycles At present Russia needs all the reason she can organize to tackle her incomparable problems But when some standard of civilized comfort has been established in Biro-Bidjan, will not the pendulum swing the other way? If the Jews still cohere as a community will they not find the comforts of the present and the planning of the future an inadequate diet? Something of the old religious spirit is bound to return as many are convinced it will return throughout Russia It would indeed be a strange and ironic thing if the lamp of Zion itself should some day receive replenishment from the oils of Biro-Bidjan

In saluting Biro Bidjan, it must however be added, that the experiment once open to all Jews is now restricted to those of Russia who total some two and a half of the sixteen millions It is hence only on Mount Zion that there may be discerned that solitary ray of hope which can encourage and inspire the hearts of all the world's Jews

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ZION

I

JEWISH history began when the patriarch Abraham crossed the Euphrates from that time onwards Palestine has occupied a fundamental place in Jewish life and thought. (It is impressive to consider to what an extent this is due to the literary genius of one man the prophet Isaiah whose odes to Zion once uttered were embodied in the Jewish consciousness for all time) Once the entire people was uprooted and deported But it returned and it became a cardinal principle of Jewish belief that in God's good time there would be another return to Zion

Hence immediately after the destruction of the Jewish State at the hands of Titus and the scattering of the Jewish people a sort of primitive Zionism began From all over the world Jews sent their offerings for the maintenance of the schools and academies of the Holy Land and the rabbis devised numerous regulations to discourage the surviving Palestinian Jews from emigrating or from abandoning the sacred duty of cultivating the soil Down to our own day there has survived in the north of Palestine notably in a village called Pekin,¹ a tiny handful of Jewish agricultural settlers, hardly distinguished in speech and way of life from the Arabs among whom they dwell and perpetuating the Jewish association not only with the land, but also with the soil of their fathers

Meanwhile in their exile their fellow Jews gave up neither their love for nor their claim to the land from which they had been forcibly dispossessed. In all ages pilgrims went up to Palestine—sometimes only to pray but often to remain. Throughout the centuries there was never a period so dark that some settlement however small was not to be found in Jerusalem and the other hallowed sites. Even in the darkest age Jews would be overcome by their passionate mystical longing for the land of Israel and would dare everything in order to transfer themselves thither—notwithstanding the perils of the way the impartial attentions of Moslem and Christian corsairs and sometimes even the downright prohibition of their temporary temporal rulers.

At the time of the expulsion from Spain above all in that fateful year 1492 numerous fugitives found there rest at last. To this period dates the establishment of the nucleus of the present Jewish settlement in Palestine—by no means so recent a thing as we are sometimes led to imagine. To this period dates too the resuscitation of cities like Safed and Tiberias—not Arab cities in which the Jews are intruders, but Jewish cities from which the terrorists are seeking to oust an historical Jewish majority.

Growing tranquillity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries fostered a more systematic reimmigration. British interest both official and unofficial in the process was intense. It was not, indeed, wholly disinterested for England was overjoyed to find in Palestine a minority in which it could take benevolent concern, to counterbalance the Russian interest in the Greek and the French in the Catholic Holy Places and their votaries. Hence at the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria Great Britain formally took all the politically unaffiliated Palestinian Jews under her protection—a state of affairs which continued until the Government of the Czars suspected that there was a catch in the system and protested

But the interlude both illustrated and stimulated the prevailing tendency for the reassociation of the Jews with Palestine if possible under British auspices. Before the nineteenth century was over Jerusalem once more contained, as it has continued to do, a Jewish majority.

II

Apart from this physical urge of the Jew to Palestine—an urge inbred by centuries of passionate desire—there had been a parallel movement for the re-establishment of the Jews in Palestine *as a nation*. This had its expression in the dreams and activities and deceptions of a hundred false messiahs who made their appearance at intervals in every land of the Diaspora. (The most spectacular of these was Sabbatai Zevi whose spectacular career had repercussions even in England.) These dreams were not confined to Jewish circles. Christians too—particularly Englishmen—speculated eagerly on the period of the probable return of the Hebrews to their own land on the means by which this could be advanced and whether it was to be the prelude to their general conversion or not. These Gentile musings it may be noted, were not without their influence among the Jews. It is certain for example that Sabbatai Zevi was influenced by the speculations of the Fifth Monarchy Men, his father being factor to an English mercantile house in Smyrna.

As the eighteenth century advanced, and the world seemed to become a little more civilized these lucubrations became somewhat less visionary. Men like Marshal Saxe and the Prince de Ligne adumbrated schemes for resettling the Jews in the Holy Land under their personal ægis and during Napoleon's Palestinian campaign in 1799 he summoned the Jews to enrol under his standard on the understanding that as a reward he would restore to them their ancient land.

The V era, with the improv in co

cations in personal security and in the status of Occidental Jewry turned these random enthusiasms into practical channels. Jewish philanthropists from western Europe supported by idealists from the east began to feel that the reacquisition of the soil had to precede the reacquisition of the country and Jewish agricultural colonies began to be established. In 1868 the *Mikve Israel* agricultural school was established—a turning point in Jewish and in Palestinian history. Non Jewish idealists (once more Englishmen such as Lord Shaftesbury and Laurence Oliphant were foremost) meanwhile adumbrated concrete schemes for the restoration of Palestine to Jewish sovereignty. (This is a point which must be stressed. Zionism has been from the beginning an English movement, not merely a Jewish one.) And, as the century advanced and it became more clear that emancipation did not provide that immediate solution to the difficulties of the Jewish position in Europe that was expected, certain Jewish thinkers, in Germany and in Russia, began to suggest that no final solution to their difficulties could be reached unless the Jews were reconstituted as a political nationality in their own land.

At the close of the century these currents converged to throw up one of the most remarkable persons of his age. Theodore Herzl, a brilliant and strikingly handsome Viennese journalist and playwright, who had become convinced as he watched the progress of the Dreyfus trial in Paris that the assimilationist solution to the "Jewish Problem" was bankrupt. He brought to bear no strikingly novel conceptions though he was so far removed from Jewish life at the time that he thought he did. Endowed with a fascinating personality, a great name, whole-hearted devotion, and considerable organizing ability, he had also immense political acumen and intuition. Hence, by the time that he died in 1904, these vague and strivings for the t of the

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Jews in Palestine had become consolidated into a well organized movement, which had received Governmental recognition and encouragement in more countries than one (particularly England) and which had called into being subsidiary organizations capable of expansion when the moment came. Henceforth, the movement was called Zionism its aims being officially defined as 'To establish for the Jewish people a home in Palestine guaranteed by public law'

By the time of the Turkish implication in the European War in 1914 there were in Palestine some 78 000 Jews forming 12 per cent of the total population. Of these several thousands were scattered in agricultural colonies up and down the country. In Jerusalem the Jews were estimated at 41 000 of its 60 000 inhabitants and they still constituted a majority also in Tiberias and Safed. (The idea that the present Jewish population of Palestine consists exclusively of very recent arrivals is a particularly misleading falsehood)

III

The Balfour Declaration was issued by the British Government in November 1917 at a moment when the fortunes of war were (to say the least) undecided. It was in the following terms

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish People and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country

It is necessary to make clear two or three points connected with this historic declaration. In the first place it was not an isolated statement. On the one hand, it was endorsed by all the allied Governments and subse-

quently confirmed by the Peace Conference on the other it was the culmination of a British interest in the re-establishment of the Jews in Palestine which may be traced back for centuries and had been vigorously supported by one British statesman after the other

Secondly though without doubt largely actuated by the historic sympathy of a Bible-loving people for the people of the Bible it was not entirely altruistic in intention It was confessedly aimed at securing the support of Jews throughout the world and particularly in America for the Allied cause Mr Lloyd George has described moreover how it was intended in part as a reward to Dr Weizmann (the great Jewish leader second only to Herzl in the annals of Zionism) who in its darkest days made a discovery of crucial importance for the conduct of the war and refused any personal reward In the attempt to conciliate Jewish sympathies the Balfour Declaration was successful For relying on this promise of the British Government, the Jews of many countries enlisted in the British forces more than one entirely Jewish battalion fought in the Palestine campaign (General Allenby referred in his dispatches to their good fighting qualities) and the Jewish settlement in Palestine risked its existence in order to assist the British forces behind the lines It may be pointed out that this and the large-scale deportations which resulted was why the Jewish population of Palestine in 1918 was reduced to about 56 000 To calculate the proportions of the subsequent immigration on the basis of this figure is grotesque.

Thirdly though it is true that various promises were made to the Arabs it is in no case *clear* that any of these included Palestine (whose Arab population remained, for the most part passive those that fought did so against the British) Even had this not been the case this incidental inclusion of Palestine in the Arab territory could not vably outweigh that which dealt clearly

specifically and solely with that country and promised it to the Jews¹

Finally the English interest in Palestine is not a remote one nor is the importance of Palestine to England dependent only on historic associations and religious memories. The country though small has an immense strategic value especially to Great Britain. It lies at what may be termed the nerve-centre of the Near East—where three continents meet where the air routes north and south and east and west converge where at Haifa is the most significant naval base in the Eastern Mediterranean and the vital Iraq pipe line has its outlet where finally the jugular vein of the Empire the Suez Canal can be assaulted or defended. To be in Palestine is all important for Great Britain but her solitary excuse for being there is the promise which she made to the Jews. Finally this should be realized and it is in fact being more clearly realized from day to day that it was only the Jews who, before the Roman disaster gave the country independence and significance so it is only the Jews who can give it independence and significance in modern times.

Hence it was by no means without importance for the British Empire when the Peace Conference endorsed the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for administering Palestine in order to bring it to fruition was entrusted to England. The hopes to which this gave rise among the Jews were soon disappointed. More was done to safe-

Though it is true that various promises of independence were made to the Arabs in no case was Palestine included. The Hussein MacMahon correspondence the memorandum drawn up at the Peace Conference by the Emir Feisal and Dr Weizmann the White Paper of 1922 all conclusively prove that Palestine was not included in those Arab territories to which independence was promised. Lawrence of Arabia, whose name is so often invoked to bolster up this claim was a supporter of and regarded it as a movement that would help Arab prosperity.

guard the feelings of the existing inhabitants than to forward the interests of the Jewish National Home. The administration consisted largely of soldiers and Civil Servants accustomed to dealing with natives "who represented the independent attitude of Jewish immigrants who stood on as high a cultural level as they did themselves. A point was made of assigning vacant lands to Arabs who poured in from the surrounding territory to take advantage of the opportunities which now arose¹. Worst of all the traditional Arab banditry sharpened by fanaticism which expressed itself in periodic attacks on the Jewish settlements and townships was treated as a pardonable, if not laudable display of patriotic feeling and the misplaced clemency was an invitation to repeat the process. The land owning squires the *effendis* meanwhile resented the weakening of their hold over the ignorant *fellaheen* the peasants by the introduction of new methods and new ideas and from the towns, where the rise in the price of land enabled them to live in luxury they incited their fellow countrymen against the immigrants. When that failed they imported gunmen from across the frontiers to terrorize the country. They were, however by no means the only agents of disorder. The official participation of the Italian Government has been admitted in the House of Commons, and Signor Mussolini never made a pretence, after the imposition of Sanctions that a cardinal point of his policy was the embarrassment of the British Empire in the eastern Mediterranean to which end his wireless station at Bari laboured hard and long. It has moreover been a particular exacerbation to the Jews in Palestine that the arms

This point is insufficiently realized. A fairly considerable part of the present Arab population of Palestine consists of recent settlers many (perhaps most) of whom arrived without authorization. According to the official figures in 1937 out of a total 3,250 illegal — into the country 2,879 were non Jews.

found on the persons of bandits and in their secret arsenals have often been of recent German manufacture

Stimulated in these various ways there have been periodic outbreaks of violence and sabotage against the Jews in Palestine which have attracted the attention of the outside world more than their solid achievements. The most recent began in 1936 since when the Jewish settlement has demonstrated for two years a most heroic balance and restraint. Yielding to violence the Government has attempted to whittle Jewish rights away and has even been considering plans to reduce the area in which Jews are allowed to purchase land and to build up their settlements. The Royal Commission of 1937 for example proposed to solve the difficulty by a partition of Palestine of which a very small portion not including Jerusalem would go to the Jews as a sovereign State. This solution would have claimed readier support were it not for the fact that it had in effect been tried already in 1921 when the portion of historic Palestine beyond the Jordan was cut off from the rest of the country an operation which did not prevent the right of the Jews to settle in that part which remained from being contested.

In spite of all difficulties discouragements and even violence Jews have continued to enter Palestine, until today the Jewish population of the country totals some 430 000 or about one third of the whole. The figures indeed are not very large—especially when one remembers the fact, too often overlooked that the increase in the Moslem population during the same period was considerably in excess of that of the Jewish. Nevertheless, Jewish achievement in the country in these post war years has a permanent significance out of all proportion to the area and the numbers involved.

IV

This subsection is to be devoted to a subject which to many people might have an almost comic sound—a con

sideration of the Jew in Agriculture for which reason I feel that special attention should be devoted to it. It is deliberately included in this chapter dealing with Zionism for agriculture is in fact another Zion to the Jew of today.

It has been explained above why the Jew of the later Middle Ages was no farmer. It was because he was driven from the land by force of circumstances by compulsion and in the end by legislative enactment. Time after time in place after place we find timid attempts on the part of individuals to re-establish themselves but as often they were driven out again.

Though divorced from the soil physically in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries individual Jews became immensely important to agriculture, though in a somewhat devious fashion. The vast extension of wheat growing which made possible the increase of population in the nineteenth century could hardly have taken place had it been left to nature to refertilize the soil in the undignified old method. Scientific fertilizers—particularly potash—thus became the saviours of mankind and subsequently when the natural deposits shewed signs of giving out, synthetic fertilizers were introduced. It so happened, by a coincidence (I do not suggest that it is more), that some of the most important names in this process were those of Jews. To Adolf Frank was due in the first instance the use of potash for agricultural purposes. Nicodem Caro was the discoverer of the first synthetic fertilizer. Above all, Fritz Haber's discovery of the method of the fixation of nitrogen rendered available unlimited supplies of fertilizer and thus obviated the danger—at one time by no means remote—that the soil of the entire world would one day be exhausted and mankind faced with starvation. (It may be added that it was largely owing to Haber's discoveries that Germany was able to withstand a world in arms between 1914 and 1918. Unfortunately for him, he survived until 1934 when he died—

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an exile because of his Jewish extraction) Work in another direction has been done by the American Lipman, of whom it has been said that the bacteria which he has turned loose on the farms of the world have more than made up for the Jews failure in previous generations to work on the land Finally it was a curious little Russian Jewish idealist named David Lubin proprietor of a button making establishment in the United States, who was responsible for the establishment of the International Agricultural Institute which has done something to introduce order and facilitate exchanges of ideas in agriculture as a whole

In the course of the nineteenth century the natural urge to the soil was reinforced by the conviction, reached independently by more than one thinker that no small part of the difficulty in the position of the Jews was due to the fact that they were an unbalanced people lacking a natural nucleus of peasants and farmers During the Victorian era, therefore various associations came into being with the object of settling the Jews on the land; a number of philanthropists (notably Baron Edmond de Rothschild and Baron de Hirsch) lavished wealth and enthusiasm on the cause and individual Jews in every country of the Western world (not excepting England) withdrew themselves from city life and tried whether the past two thousand years had robbed their hand of the power to guide the plough

The Jewish people has thus witnessed during the course of the last century a phenomenon unique in history a widespread movement back to the land At the time of the accession of Queen Victoria, the number of Jewish agriculturists in the civilized world was negligible To-day there are Jewish peasant communities, and some active colonies in Canada, Brazil the Argentine, Russia, Poland, and, above all, Palestine In Bessarabia, one-eighth of the Jewish is engaged in farming. At

the United States 100 000 Jews are dependent on it. The total number of Jews throughout the world who look to agriculture for their livelihood is now about 700 000. The figure moreover is constantly increasing—a phenomenon unparalleled in the world today as was stated earlier where the general tendency is away from the land. It is a palpitating refutation of the general idea that the Jew is by nature a middle man and a town dweller. It is at the same time a noteworthy attempt to solve the Jewish Problem by removing simultaneously one of the most specious criticisms and one of the most dangerous disequilibriates of the Jewish position.

It is in Palestine that the process has made the most remarkable progress. Here the movements back to the Land and back to the land have progressed side by side. The idea of the resuscitation of the Jewish people has been intimately bound up with that of the resuscitation of the historic Jewish national home once flowing with milk and honey but now in great part a sun scorched barren waste ruined by the neglect of centuries. Land has been purchased at high prices from the Arab owners to be treated as an unalienable possession of the Jewish people for ever. There has never been any question of expropriation in favour of the Jews. Every square yard has been laboriously and expensively acquired the average value having risen by many times since the Balfour Declaration and former land-owners having been immensely enriched thereby. Cases have been comparatively common in which public lands allotted by the Government to insistent Arabs have been alienated by them forthwith to the Jewish agencies at a swinging

More remarkable than this has been the use to which the land thus acquired has been put. Scientific farming has been introduced irrigation organized wells bored, hillsides reterraced entire ranges reafforested and swamps drained at an immense cost of life. From a long distance off it is possible to distinguish between the aboriginal Arab village in its miserable setting and the cheerful Jewish colony situated on the same soil surrounded by its smiling cornfields or orange groves. Yet the Arab has benefited immeasurably by the proximity of the Jews. The value of his holding has increased perhaps sixfold, his standard of living has improved he is able to participate in the medical services which the Jews have introduced and in the new roads which they have constructed. With the draining of the swamps the malaria which was formerly the great scourge of the country has been mastered and he shares the benefit. He has a new market for his produce and a less wasteful method of marketing it. Above all, he can learn both from example and in the agricultural school set up for Arabs by the Jewish philanthropist Kadoorie the new methods which will enable him to raise a bushel of produce where only a peck grew before.

There is one further matter of great importance which should be touched on here. The world is made abundantly aware in sedulous dispatches, of conflict between Jew and Arab even though the elements of disorder amount perhaps to only a few thousands, perhaps even hundreds. It is almost completely ignorant of the many ways in which Jews and Arabs work together in complete harmony. The Jews employ Arabs on the fruit

1937 only six landless Arabs were registered in Palestine and no further claims for registration were submitted. In one place the "landless" families settled on Government land deserted the settlement *en bloc* and engaged in work

plantations in the larger industrial electricity and potash and in miscellaneous employments in the towns. The Jews buy agricultural produce of all kinds from the Arabs and sell them various commodities in the towns. I have myself frequently seen in the areas outside the influence of Nablus Arabs from the country side coming in to join the Jewish colonists at their meals and in the towns (at all events till the troubles of 1936) there were Jews and Arabs in the same trade unions—for example in the railway and postal workers union. At Haifa in an Arab Jewish club even the gentry for gathered. It should be realized that partly as a result of this co operation which can and should—I will go so far as to say will—be vastly increased the standard of living both of Jew and Arab in Palestine is now approaching the European level and in many cases exceeds it. The Palestine-Arab standard of living is infinitely higher than that of neighbouring Arab countries including Egypt.

V

Yet more important than the regeneration of the land has been the regeneration of the Jewish people on it. There has never been any question of pouring into Palestine a miscellaneous selection of urban residents and leaving them to fend for themselves, or of creating a society of middle-men taking in one another's washing or auditing one another's accounts. Every precaution has been taken to ensure that the mistakes of the Diaspora should not be repeated and that the new society in Palestine should be a balanced one. It is keenly desired not to make of the Jews an upper class of employers thereby running the risk of reducing their neighbours to helotry.

And so for the first time in the past two thousand years perhaps you have in Palestine a Jewish society which is socially and economically balanced. You do

not only have your clothes made by a Jew and your hair cut by a Jew and read books written by Jews and printed by Jews and bound (if they are bound) by Jews. Your house is built by Jewish labour out of materials produced by Jewish quarrymen. It is whitewashed by a Jew and the doors are painted by a Jew and (if you yourself are not addicted to such exercises) the garden is tended by a Jew. You go about on Jewish built roads in a Jew driven omnibus. Have your shoes cleaned by a Jew and call in a Jewish porter (generally a Georgian) to balance your chest of drawers on his head when you move house.

Above all the food you eat is as far as possible grown in Palestine by Jewish farmers and peasants—the backbone and the pride of the country. The process of settling the immigrants on the land has not gone as yet as far as it is hoped to in the near future for the sudden influx from central Europe has thrown all calculations out of gear. Nevertheless some 16 per cent of Palestinian Jewry is dependent on the soil for its livelihood—as against only some 7 per cent of the population in (for example) England. You may recognize them at a glance—splendid bronzed young men and women their muscles massing against their scanty dungarees. Not long since students and lawyers and musicians somewhere in central Europe now they are agricultural labourers and proud of it.

Not less noteworthy than their achievement on the land is the new life that they are endeavouring to build up in their settlements many of them communally run. Here, these new born sons of toil are endeavouring to put into practice some at least of the ideals of social justice which the Hebrew prophets preached of old. Here an attempt is being made to shew the world that the peasant is capable of developing a cultural life as rich (in music in literature, in thought) as the most sophisticated bourgeois of a European capital. Go to one of these settlements. Enjoy for half a day or half a week the generous hospitality which

they dispense as a matter of course to every stranger who does not waste their time and your picture of what a Jew is will have to be fundamentally revised.

VI

The rebirth of the People has been accompanied by the rebirth of its Culture. The language which the returned exiles speak is Hebrew—the Hebrew of Moses and of Isaiah renewed and revitalized and made to express the requirements of the twentieth century. The beginnings of the revival do not date back more than fifty or sixty years previous to that the language of the fathers of the Jewish people, shut up between the mouldy covers of Rabbinic tomes was hardly more alive than classical Greek or Latin. Within a generation it had become once more the language of a people. The new Jewish settlement in Palestine speaks Hebrew writes Hebrew flirts in Hebrew swears in Hebrew the peasant speaks it at the plough the shopman at the counter the newsboy at his stand. And this revived language has become the medium for an entire, new culture. Books are printed in it galore history and biography and philosophy and medicine and science and (of course) agriculture and technology and mathematics and every other branch of intellectual activity. There are newspapers and novels and poetry and detective stories (translated from English these last) and everything else you please.

A Hebrew educational system of remarkable comprehensiveness has been built up starting from the kindergarten and culminating in a university on Mount Scopus—overlooking Jerusalem on the one side and the Dead Sea on the other. Here where Titus encamped during that great siege which was believed by contemporaries to smash the Jewish spirit for good that same spirit is being re-created in the twentieth century. The Jewish settlement in Palestine, still numerically weak, has already

established itself as the heart and the brain of that portion of the Jewish people which desires to preserve its historic consciousness

While Jerusalem has thus regained its historic position as the intellectual centre of Jewry the material centre of the new Palestine has arisen on the sand dunes outside Jaffa. Here in 1909—not quite thirty years ago—a number of Jewish residents of the port decided to erect a garden city which they called Tel Aviv—the Mound of Spring. In a single generation this little nucleus in the wilderness has become one of the most up-to-date towns in the world with a population of some 150 000—all of them Jews except for some domestic servants and a few British residents. It has every adjunct of a Western city—a Hebrew Press, a Hebrew theatre (the world famous *Habimah* and *Ohel* are two companies only out of several) publishers, magistrates, police, fire brigade, museum, library, hospitals, and (since the disorders of 1936) even a jetty and the nucleus of a port. The entire city is managed by Jews and for Jews and the language is Hebrew. It is a city which has grown (it has been said so often) with American speed, but on a European plan and with a Jewish spirit.

VII

With the outbreak of persecution in Germany in 1933 the rôle of Palestine suddenly became more important. It had generally been envisaged as a National Home in a somewhat sentimental sense for few persons imagined that it could do much to solve the physical problem of the persecuted and dispossessed Jew. But (it was not surprising for the one was the cause of the other) the rise of Hitler coincided with a general economic depression, which made it difficult for the German Jewish refugees to be absorbed elsewhere. For various reasons, Palestine not only escaped the slump, but was at the moment going through a minor boom. Hence it proved the only country

where German Jews and their brethren in distress from neighbouring lands could find a haven in considerable numbers. In the course of the last five years some 45 000 of the former have been able to establish themselves in Palestine and twice as many more, at least, from Poland Roumania Lithuania and other countries of scant hope.

It is an astonishing record. But its importance is not only to be reckoned numerically. The fact that Jewish Palestine could absorb these thousands has been of inestimable moral significance. To the Jews of eastern Europe it has been the one steady star shining through the wrack of tempest.

For remember this further. In other countries the refugees have been admitted for the most part only as it were on sufferance. A moment of xenophobia a threat of war some inexplicable mob hysteria and they may be sent off on their wanderings again—as has happened, indeed, to some who found what they fondly imagined to be a home in China in Spain in Vienna and now alas, in Rome in Milan in Sudetenland. But in Palestine they are (one hopes) spared that peril. They are there not on sufferance but as a right. They can be Jews openly and fearlessly. They can be writers without being told that they are over intellectual or boot blacks without being told that they are menial or play in an orchestra without being told that they constitute a peril to the purity of the country's culture. They are home. Their wanderings are ended.

VIII

But the potentialities of the country are not yet by any means exhausted. In the exiguous area that has been set apart under the Royal Commission of 1937 as the proposed Jewish State there is little room for expansion. But there is a desolate area known as the Negeb stretching south beyond Jerusalem towards and beyond Beer sheba. It is inhabited now by only a few thousand

wandering Bedouin. Once however before the Jews abandoned the land it was the seat of a thriving agricultural and urban settlement. Jewish enthusiasm, skill and science can make it blossom again as the rose. Without this now desolate adjunct, Jewish Palestine could support two million souls. With it the possibilities of settlement are enormously increased while in the more fertile but neglected area across the Jordan snut off from the Jews since 1921 but crying out for a vigorous settlement there would be room for a settlement of at least three million more. Open these areas, and the problem of no small proportion of the persecuted homeless wretched Jews of central and eastern Europe would be solved.

No one would be the loser. The British would gain a colony of devoted foster sons guarding the most vital link in Imperial communications. The Arabs would profit from the influx of capital, the utilization of new methods, the introduction without cost to themselves of the material advances for which their neighbours may have to wait for generations. Could I do so through the medium of this little book, I would appeal to them. I would say 'Kinsmen! You have much. Your territory covers many thousands of square miles. We the Jews have none. Will you not admit us into one corner of your vast estate? We wish for nothing for which we are not willing to pay at market price and far above. In the re-establishment of our brotherhood there will be profit not for you only not for us only but for the whole world. Was it not the Arabs and the Jews in the earlier Dark Ages—when Europe was distracted by the wars of creed as she is today by the rivalries of commerce and the nightmare lies of race—was it not the Arabs and Jews who held the torch high on the northern littoral of Africa and illumined the darkness of the plateau of Spain? Let us once more kindle a torch, you and we. The world is darker now than then.' "

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE FUTURE

I

A JEW cannot be blamed if as he considers the present condition of his people his heart is filled with despair. German Jewry one of the oldest and most solidly established in Europe has been completely overwhelmed. Another great Jewry has followed that of Germany into the chasm within the past few months with catastrophic suddenness and Jewry strains its eyes in an agony of apprehension to know who goes next.

The great Jewish masses of eastern Europe above all are in peril. Today the doom involves more than half a million souls. What if tomorrow it should involve five millions? The prospect is too mournful to contemplate but it is so far from remote that it must be contemplated.

The growth of anti-Semitism, the rise of economic nationalism and the dark shadow of unemployment have made it increasingly difficult for even the refugees from central Europe to find a haven elsewhere. European countries claim that they have reached the saturation point overseas difficulties and objections and refusals are met at every turn even in half empty continents. It is possible but only with difficulty to discover an avenue of escape for a few tens of thousands. But the problem involves hundreds of thousands and tomorrow may involve millions. Where can they find admission?

Echo answers despairingly. Where? And the Jewish refugee wonders woefully what guarantee there is that the anti-Semitic spectre may not trace him down to his

new abode and drive him forth a homeless wanderer once again after a longer or shorter period—first stripping him, of course of anything he may have accumulated in the meantime. In Palestine only is there any prospect of permanence for him but not in a Palestine racked by Arab terrorism nor in a Palestine reduced to the size of an English county—the two alternatives (if they are alternatives) with which Jewry now seems to be faced.

Gone in any case are the old days when the emigrant could land penniless and earn his living forthwith with spade or needle. Today emigration must be planned and subsidized. It is calculated that no less than £50 000 000 as a minimum would be needed to finance the transference and resettlement of German Jewry alone—a stupendous amount. The relief efforts organized by Jewry during the past few years have been magnificent; the burden of raising such a sum in addition to the sum to which they are already committed, is beyond their utmost capacity. It cannot be expected they will receive any really solid assistance from non Jewish sources.

II

It is almost perhaps quite impossible to solve the problem of the German-Jewish persecution by the transference of its victims to foreign countries. There is, however one place where the problem can be solved with ease—and that is Germany with that half the difficulties of the Jews in neighbouring countries would vanish automatically. I mean of course, that the problem would be solved if the German Government rescinded its official anti-Semitic policy wherewith it has inflicted on hundreds of thousands of its nationals untold anguish and on the great name of Germany a dishonour which it will take generations to expiate.

It may sound a little crazy but surely if there is any lesson to be drawn from history we can permit ourselves to believe that some day—perhaps sooner than we dare hope—the German people will return to sanity and the accepted standards of public decency will again prevail there. With that if there are any Jews left who have not committed suicide or died of heart break and slow starvation, the problem will subside like a sand-castle in an approaching tide.

I do not delude myself into believing that this would mean an immediate return to the conditions which prevailed before 1933. The virus of anti-Semitism has been injected too deeply into the veins of the German people for them to throw off the sickness at once and permit an immediate and universal renewal of former conditions. But on the day a civilized régime is re-established in Germany life would become tolerable again for whatever Jews survived, and a gigantic load would be removed from the minds and hearts of all liberal minded people beyond her borders.

But it would be folly to believe that that day is very close at hand. It is now too late to hope that a universal and concerted expression of the world's abhorrence will cause the Nazi Government to swerve from the course which it has chosen—though the trumpet-call of a Gladstone to waken and proclaim the horror of mankind, might have had some effect a few years ago.

None the less some of the extravagances of persecution might even now be modified. Dictatorships whatever they may pretend, are extremely sensitive to outside opinion for instance they need money to finance the fabulous expenditures on arms and public show without which they would soon come crashing down. Nor despite their rigid control of Press and radio can they indefinitely withhold from their own people the knowledge of the world's horror or stifle its sense of shame.

There is certainly one outrageous abuse which the outside world has the right as well as the duty to see removed. I need not again discuss the ethics of the German Government's action in seeking to thrust its Jewish nationals beyond its frontiers. But that the organized theft of all their possessions is repellent criminal behaviour cannot be argued. If that were all the world being the world it is today might find it enough to announce its horror and leave it at that. But it is not all. If half a million paupers are foisted upon it, it can only exterminate them a disagreeable and unlikely process or of its charity take charge of them. And that would be an imposition so monstrous that it neither could nor should be borne. Is there any chance even a faint one that such factors in the situation as the Evian conference have made it clear to the German Government that it will have to modify its policy if not of expulsion then of wholesale theft?

One suggestion for the solution of this aspect of the present difficulty has indeed been put forward and deserves consideration. The Nazi State looks forward to the creation of a Germanic State consisting of all Teutons and is even now engaged in an effort to bring under the German flag all those living under another rule. It is as a corollary of this process of establishing a pan Teutonic and racially "pure" State that they desire to rid themselves of all non Aryan subjects. The suggestion made is that Germany should be generously assisted in her object by having all the millions of Germanic Aryans living abroad shipped back to Germany and allowing German non Aryans expelled from their native land to take their place. This would clearly not affect the state of employment or the economic position of any country involved. There would similarly be no difficulty in allowing the transfer of the emigrants' assets as there is at present for a clearing house could be set up to organize this. It is an able and ingenious suggestion, though hardly

likely to commend itself to a mentality which considers honesty a virtue admirable only in others. Nevertheless, as an instrument for enforcing fair play it clearly deserves careful consideration.

III

I would like to address a word here to the decent normal Englishman who breathing the atmosphere of anti Semitic propaganda during the past few years has come to imagine that, after all there may be something in the charges against the Jew.

It would be enough to recognize that the Jew like every other people is a product of his history and that oppression at the hands of his neighbours may be responsible for the less fortunate aspects of his condition today that to be unbalanced economically may be a misfortune, but is no crime that in an ideal world each man does the job for which he is best fitted without regard to racial origin or religious antecedents that the vices of individuals should not be taken to be characteristic of a people and that every man has a right to equality of treatment and of opportunity. Put this policy into action. Disregard for instance the concentration of Jews in certain callings—a transient phenomenon and one without real significance. Remember that you yourself can hardly fail to have Jewish blood in your veins and that your Jewish neighbour probably has Christian blood in his. Treat him as an equal and a friend. Do all this and within a generation a good deal of the "Jewish Problem" will have passed—together with no small proportion of the Jews as I must add with some regret. It is the old liberal solution which worked so long as it was allowed to and which will one day be allowed to work again.

The stubborn *res dum* would be undermined were the ultimate religious basis of anti-Semitism destroyed rather

by refraining to accentuate in church and kindergarten the part of the Jews in the Crucifixion or by pointing out, from the very beginning at every possible opportunity that responsibility for it was confined to a very small proportion of the extremely remote ancestors of some of the Jews of today. I cannot help stating my view once more here in the last chapter of this little book as I did in the first, that this differentiation of the Jew and the ascription to him of personal responsibility for a great Crime—implicit in our elementary education in public worship and indeed in some of the major works of our literature—still today lay the basis for the anti-Semitic feeling that becomes rationalized at a later state of life with such evil consequence.

To my fellow Jews I would be so bold as to make a suggestion. They are an estimable section of society they know it they can hardly help knowing it but there is no reason why some of them should so loudly insist upon it. It is a fine achievement to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before but it is not particularly clever for six Jews to go out of their way to attract as much attention as twelve. Non-Jews often hear with sceptical surprise that there are only 350 000 Jews in this country they know they say more than that number themselves. There is nothing criminal in this lack of restraint. It is no doubt good for trade when a Jewish wedding is celebrated with a maximum of ostentation in a fashionable hotel in Park Lane. The road houses with a Jewish clientele have doubtless brought relief to many desolate agricultural areas. Young Jewish tailors from the East End clearly have as much right to talk at the top of their voices in a public place as an Oxford undergraduate of Norman descent. All this is doubtless true. But such conduct is tactless and it is unwise. If the 350 000 Jews in this country gave the appearance of being 175 000 instead of 3 000 000 no one would be the worse and their

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outlook and that of their unfortunate correigionists who would give up years of life to be admitted here—would be brighter

One cannot but commend, for universal support and universal imitation—even in this country—the experiment in economic decentralization which has already made such strides in certain parts of the world. I repeat once again that I can see no reason why all Jews should not be doctors provided that they are good doctors or why they should not be costumiers, provided that they make good costumes. But this over-concentration, usually forced, in certain specific urban callings obviously (however illogically) attracts adverse comment and in the present state of public opinion it is clearly unwise. By marking off the Jews as a separate entity economically as well as religiously and ethnically it adds to their unlikeness and therefore to their potential unlikeability. Moreover this traditional economic distribution of the Jews is being undermined by the rising tide of economic nationalism on the one hand and of State socialism on the other coupled with the growth of great industrial and commercial corporations in which (particularly in the United States of America) the Jew finds difficulty in obtaining employment. Hence, even at normal times the urbanized Jewry to which we are accustomed finds its position threatened.

Interest, therefore as well as tact, points to an attempt at economic redistribution, a reversion to manual labour, a return to the soil, the re-creation of an agricultural proletariat. This indeed, is taking place before our eyes in Soviet Russia and in Jewish Palestine and is being imitated on a smaller scale (under the auspices of organizations such as the Ort oze) in other countries as well. But the example must spread. It should be developed in England too—English Jews might well lead the whole country in a return to the soil and the Jewish father as he plans his son's future should realize that a farmer

is as useful to humanity as a chartered accountant. A more even distribution would not only take away one cause (or at least pretext) for anti-Semitism, it would establish the Jewish community on a broader base less susceptible than it has been in the immediate past to the sudden storms of economic depression.

IV

I confess that these are mere palliations of maladies which the return to the liberal traditions of the last century both here and on the Continent would go a long way towards eradicating.

But I would like to conclude by the consideration of a more fundamental inquiry. We have looked at the past of the Jews. It has not been bright. We have looked at the present. It is full of gloom and menace. What of the future? Will the Jews survive?

To a certain extent the survival of the Jews is a matter of our own volition. We can decide whether we shall marry Jews and Jewesses or whether we shall not. We can decide whether we shall bring up our children aware and proud of their Jewish heritage or ashamed of it, or ignorant. The determination to do these things has been immeasurably increased by the pressure of recent anti-Semitism. I do in fact, believe that if the world were to become one vast nightmare of Nazi anti-Semitism, Jewry would be more inveterately implanted in the landscape of the world's peoples after the nightmare had rolled away than before.

There are some who hold that, if there had been no Hitler there would have been within a measurable space of time no Jews. They point out that the Jews of western Europe and America, for instance belong in the main to the intellectualized urban element which from the demographic point of view is tending towards annihilation.

Like the professional and business classes among their neighbours they are affected by a low marriage-rate and a birth rate which is by now insufficient in many places to keep the population up to its present level. Unlike their neighbours moreover the Jews no longer have a reservoir of population from which the deficiency can be recruited. I have spoken of the possibility of the total disappearance of Jews as Jews from Russia. Even in Poland where if anywhere there is now a Jewish proletariat there is a lower marriage-rate and a higher marriage age among Jews than among the general population. In the present Hungary the Jewish population has decreased from 470 000 to 430 000 during the past twenty five years and at the present time the death rate is actually higher than the birth rate. In Germany the Jewish population was 615 000 in 1910 and barely exceeded 500 000 in 1933 and it is reckoned that, had Herr Hitler delayed his coming for a few decades, he would have been compelled to import Jews as a popular bugbear as the natives would almost have died out.

But the fact is Hitler has not waited. He has come. Or rather he has come again. It is to us particularly grievous that it is to Germany he has come back.

We have been in Germany so long. We were there with the Romans centuries before the ancestors of most of the present inhabitants. We have contributed so generously to German literature music science art and theatre with a Heine a Mendelssohn an Einstein, a Liebermann, a Reinhardt. When it came to dying, as in the late Great War we did our share generously too (though I met a German lad in Hyde Park some little time ago a leader of the *Hitlerjugend* in Wismar who told me quite seriously that not a single Jew had fought in the German army during the war. He had read it in his Nazi text book).

Supposing some archangel said to me. You see what is happening to the Jews in G today. Something

of the sort happened to the Jews five centuries earlier in Spain and five centuries earlier in north Africa. Something of the sort will happen to the Jews five centuries hence. God knows where in Mexico or Manchuria. It is bound to happen again. History shows these agonies recur in cycles of five hundred years. It is a law of nature. The word rests on your lips. If you utter it the Jews will cease to exist. If you do not the Jews continue. They continue to dower the peoples with science and scholarship, poetry and music to animate the world with the Messianic hope they have carried about with them from century to century from country to country. But five hundred years from now Titus will come again, Torquemada will come again, Hitler will come again.

You remember that it is an archangel speaking. He has left the decision with me. I should decide, if Hitler must come again I would rather there were no Jews for him to come back to. I would recall the pulped flesh of Jewish prisoners in concentration camps, the small wincing children isolated like lepers in the schools, the dispossessed lawyers and teachers shuffling from gutter to gutter more tragic in the cold slow certainty of their doom than the spectacular victims of pogrom. I would remember these, and decide. I pray you Archangel let there be no more Jews. And I can bring myself to believe that there are few Jews who would not pronounce identical words.

But no archangel is in the least likely to put this august decision into my hands. The cycle of history will or will not, revolve again a fresh era of Jewish suffering. If the world is disposed into a scheme in any way resembling its present economic and national patterns I think it will. But I am Tennysonian enough to believe that despite these cyclical relapses into savagery each time we do not relapse so far as before. I sometimes believe that, as between Attila and Hitler there are a few points in Hitler's favour.

THE FUTURE

I console myself that when the next Hitler comes he will be a little gentler than this one.

In the meantime—we go on! We will not give up the battle Jewish lads and maidens will marry each other they will bring up their children in the consciousness of being Jewish. So I come back to my basic question. Will Jewry survive? But that, after all is merely an attempt to anticipate history. I wish therefore to interpose a more important question—more important because it is a moral one. *Should* Jewry survive? And my answer sums up the intention of this book and the feeling that underlies it.

V

We should survive I say. First, because of our heritage. We have given to the world the concepts of moral law and of the One God. We gave the world its supreme Book. That was while we were still a nation. When we ceased to be a nation in the sense that we had one land to be our hearthstone and one language to give expression to our dreams, we still continued to create and to interpret. I believe that there is a great deal of fine literature and art and music for us to create fine philosophy for us to expound which would never be created or expounded if we allowed ourselves to be absorbed among the peoples where we live. We should survive because we have shown for two thousand years that it is a stronger thing to have no armies and navies than to possess armies and navies. We have had individual soldiers of great gallantry and individual generals of great wisdom. But they have functioned as Americans or Australians not as Jews. If the utmost that some Jews hope from Zionism is achieved, even a Jewish National Home which is completely autonomous it will not be a road lined with tanks and field-guns. Assyria, Egypt, Imperial Rome had great armies. They are dead, and we live. Nazi y is building a greater

army than any of theirs We shall outlive Nazi Germany

Secondly I believe the Jew should survive precisely for the same reason that I want the Red Indian and the Basque to survive the Welshman and the Cornishman the New Englander and the New Mexican From day to day the world tends to become more and more monotone and monochrome The forces of standardization mechanization mass production, hang heavily over us flattening like lead coloured clouds our world's brilliant diversity We listen to the same music on the air whether we are Eskimos or Hottentots We read the same syndicated articles in the newspapers Giant liners and aircraft obliterate all our frontiers We must hang on to what separates us, our traditions our folk song and dance lest we bore each other and ourselves to extinction For God's sake, as D H Lawrence once cried out Let us hang on to the Sacred Differences!

There is a third reason why we *should* survive It is less magnanimous than the two others I have brought forward It is this It is merely a matter of the devil in us or the small boy in us What? Did Titus did Torquemada, want to finish us off? Does Hitler want to finish us off? To the devil with them! We shall go on!

If it wanted any arguing these are the arguments why we *should* survive But the fact is whether we should or should not whether we want to or do not, we *will* survive We cannot help it Whatever our friends or enemies do to us whatever we do to ourselves we go on Why we go on with this grim imperishable persistence, God only knows

It may be that we are a Chosen People but that is an idea I personally prefer to drop What with the Chosen People called Japanese and the Chosen People called Germans, there are too many competitors in the field No I do not think we were chosen any more than the Chaldeans

or the Id or the Jebusites. We started off as a handful of nomad families who cohered into a tribe. The tribe swore blood brotherhood with a group of kindred tribes. These associated tribes who were almost a race by this time had double luck. They chanced to survive those tribes who would have swamped them. They chanced to mingle with those tribes who in combination with them produced a certain strength, a certain vitality which has been and is inextinguishable. It is the attractive contention of some historians that the two predominant elements in the Jewish mixture were Semitic and Hellenic. From the Semitic Hebrews we received the integrity and strength of the desert, the backbone which made us survive. From the Hellenic Philistines whom we overcame and with whom we intermarried bountifully we received the Mediterranean liveliness and sense of beauty which made us worth surviving. We Jews survived because of a fortuitous combination of fortunate elements. In that same way we humans survived as against the mammoths and brontosaurus because of a combination of happy glands.

What is this Jewish vitality? I think it is not a matter of quality but of quantity. We are whatever we are with more intensity than other peoples. If we are pleasant, we can be enchanting; if we are unpleasant, we can be revolting. We thrive on persecution and intolerance. If Hitler had wanted to get rid of his Jews really efficiently he should have given them the free run of all the wine cellars and musical comedy choruses in the country.

It is a fact that during the ages of enlightenment as they are sometimes called, we lose through assimilation and intermarriage some of our best sons and daughters to the Gentiles around us. I think there is some justice in that—we receive and we give. But however much we give or however much is taken from us by forced conversion to the glory of God or mass cre to the glory

of the Devil the core of us remains. It is a core which is irrefrangible, like diamond. Nothing can break it, not even the soft drip, drip, drip of the waters of kindness. It is a radioactive core which gives off countless particles of energy yet remains unexhausted and inexhaustible. Understand I use words like diamond and "radioactive" not as expressions of merit but as a physicist might use them to express by analogy natural characteristics.

VI

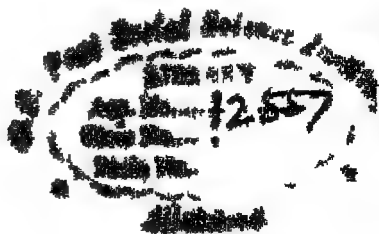
What is this thing that survives? Who are we people that survive? We are a race, says Herr Hitler. But we are *not* a race many biologists will tell you. We are not a religion for some of the most fervent Jews are among the least religious. We are not a nation in any political sense though some Jews have political aspirations in the direction of a renewed nationhood. We are not moral or Messianic impulse. What are we? Each of us is an amalgam of all these elements in varying degree. In some of us some of these elements preponderate; in others other elements. In any given generation some Jews are destined to carry on the Jewish destiny to the generation that is to come; other Jews are not so destined. Of these that are not so destined some disappear into the world's peoples as completely as a small shower disappears into the Sahara; some others think they have disappeared to the fourth and the fifth generation, till Hitler arises and disinters them and exposes them to contempt and persecution.

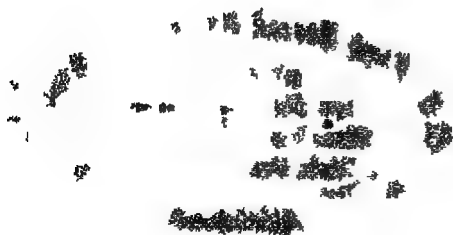
But I have said that, in any given generation some Jews are destined to carry on the torch, the tradition, the destiny. I think it is not a common sense of race or religion, of colossal tradition, of moral impulse, that makes Jews of them though each or all of these may function. It is a sense of decency. It is a sense of loyalty.

When I meet a Jew and he meets me we salute in each other without knowing it the conqueror of Titus and Torquemada and Hitler I know that he will need my help, and I will need his five hundred years from now We cannot fail each other We will go on

There is another knowledge we bear with us, some of us obscurely too deep for words some of us clearly and we render it in word or sound or stone It is not only that we need each other but that the world needs us We have stood since our beginnings for certain values which the world would cherish without us but with us cherishes more bravely and continuously We have stood for the idea of One God, for Peace throughout the Lands for Love to All Men The treatment of us is a touch stone of a land's chivalry Where things are well with us there the newer values flourish Religious Liberty Democracy the Right of Free Speech Where things go ill these values sicken and soon after those older values follow

The world needs us We cannot fail each other We will go on





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